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The Fiend in the Fog: A History of Satan in Early Modern Scotland

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The Fiend in the Fog: A History of Satan in Early Modern Scotland

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Dedication

For my family

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support of my grandparents, John and Louise Hamilton, has made my entire education possible. I can never repay them for their generosity. My mother, who passed away before I could finish this dissertation, instilled in me from a very young age a love of reading about people and their stories. She is present on every page.

The Fiend in the Fog: A History of Satan in Early Modern Scotland

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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This dissertation, the first comprehensive study of Satan in early modern Scotland, attempts to recreate the role of the devil in the mental worlds of Scots from the beginning of the Scottish Reformation in 1560 through the early eighteenth century. In doing so, I address three interrelated questions. First, what did Scottish men and women believe about the devil? Second, how did their demonic beliefs inform culture, individual and communal identities, and lived experience in Scotland? Last, how did Scottish demonic belief compare and relate to British, Atlantic, and European demonologies? This dissertation demonstrates that Scots of all sorts were involved in the creation of a varied but shared spectrum of demonic belief that was profoundly and consistently influenced by the theology and practice of Reformed Protestantism. Ultimately, belief in the devil produced a dynamic cultural dialogue about good, evil, and the self through which these Scots constructed individual and communal identities.

Throughout the early modern period, Scottish religious, social, and political turmoil combined with the introduction of Reformed Protestant theology and an increased concern for the Apocalypse to provoke a re-evaluation of demonology. Historians have often assumed that ordinary people were uninterested in or unaware of

these evolving ideas about Satan, due to both their illiteracy and their focus on the basic struggle to make ends meet. By investigating a wide array of sources, such as court records, diaries, and sermons, my dissertation unearths the demonological ideas not just of elites, but also of ordinary men and women whose beliefs about Satan have long been presumed unrecoverable. This dissertation thus demonstrates that elite and uneducated Scots alike engaged in a complex exchange of beliefs about the devil that reshaped Scottish demonology and engendered new ways of believing and behaving for Scots of all sorts.

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Introduction

This dissertation attempts to recreate the role of Satan in the mental worlds of Scots from the beginning of the Scottish Reformation in 1560 through the early eighteenth century. In doing so, I address three interrelated questions. First, what did Scottish men and women believe about the devil? Second, how did their demonic beliefs inform culture, individual and communal identities, and lived experience in Scotland? Last, how did Scottish demonic belief compare and relate to British, Atlantic, and European demonologies? This dissertation demonstrates that Scots of all sorts were involved in the creation of a varied but shared spectrum of demonic belief that was profoundly and consistently influenced by the theology and practice of Reformed Protestantism. Ultimately, belief in the devil produced a dynamic cultural dialogue about good, evil, and the self through which these Scots constructed individual and communal identities.

The general topic of this dissertation will be familiar to almost any reader in the Western world. The devil—or Satan, to use his scriptural, personal name—has long captivated the imagination not just of theologians, but novelists, poets, philosophers, screenwriters, artists, and the odd cult or two. To give a quintessentially current example of Satan's continued presence in our cultural imagination, the brief entry of "devil" into Netflix's search bar calls up pages upon pages of movies from the last fifty years.[1] A quick survey of newspaper articles discussing the various guises of political and religious fundamentalism illustrates that belief in evil, personified in Christianity by Satan, is alive

[1] Some of the more entertaining titles include "God went Surfing with the Devil"; "God, the Devil, and Bob: the Complete Series"; "Devil Girl from Mars"; and "Tai Chi Devil."

and well throughout the world. As recently as 2008, the 2012 Republican presidential candidate Rick Santorum claimed that America was engaged in a spiritual war with the devil: "And the Father of Lies has his sights on what you would think the Father of Lies would have his sights on: a good, decent, powerful, influential country – the United States of America. If you were Satan, who would you attack in this day and age?"[2] Whether or not one agrees with Santorum, his ideas, which display surprising continuity with the individuals featured in this dissertation, provoked a political discussion about the place of demonic belief in modern society. The devil, in short, is far from a relic of an irrational or unscientific past. Conceptions of Satan and evil continue to inspire not only cultural artifacts such as horror films and art, but also personal faith and political actions.

Rewind four-and-a-half centuries ago to 1560, when the Scottish Reformation was in its early throes. If the devil maintains a high profile in present society, then Satan was ubiquitous in early modern Scotland. During these years, religious, social, and political turmoil combined with the introduction of Reformed Protestant theology and an increased concern for the Apocalypse to provoke a re-evaluation of demonology. Historians have often assumed that ordinary people were uninterested in or unaware of these evolving ideas about Satan in the early modern period, due to both their illiteracy and their focus on the basic struggle to make ends meet. This dissertation demonstrates that elite and uneducated Scots alike engaged in a complex exchange of beliefs about the devil that reshaped Scottish demonology and engendered new ways of believing and behaving for Scots of all sorts.

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[2] As quoted in *The Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/22/rick-santorum-satan-_n_1293658.html, accessed March 13, 2012.

Unlike previous scholarship, I do not consider demonology solely within the bounds of theological discourse or exclusively as a high-culture phenomenon. Strictly defined, demonology is the scholarly study of Satan and his demons. In her doctoral thesis, Christina Larner used the word "demonology" as "a general term to cover all theorizing, whether legal or theological, about the Devil, demons, and witchcraft."[3] This dissertation broadens this definition by considering demonology as the constant project of all Scots, whose lived experiences shaped their demonic belief and compelled them to evaluate their position in a world torn between the forces of good and evil. Thus I consider any description of demonic belief, from the invocation of the devil during neighborly disputes to King James VI's *Daemonologie*, as contributing to demonology. A mutual interest in Satan does not mean that everyone in Scotland believed the same things about the devil, of course. Yet by investigating how Scottish men and women perceived and responded to Satan in their daily lives, my work illustrates how demonic belief contributed to a fluid and collective religious culture in early modern Scotland. Though Scotland has long been touted as a bastion of religious intolerance, demonic belief fell along a spectrum that was at once flexible and cohesive. The particulars of Reformed Protestantism consistently determined the parameters for this spectrum, but these ideas also allowed space for varied and dynamic ideas about Satan.

[3] Christina J. Ross, "Scottish Demonology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Its Theological Background" (PhD Thesis: University of Edinburgh, 1962), 2. Despite the thesis's title, this was a study of "the intellectual basis of the persecution of witchcraft in Scotland" that would inspire and inform Christina Larner's (her maiden name was Ross) influential monograph *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland*, (London: Chatto & Windus,1981).

This dissertation, as the first comprehensive study of Satan in early modern Scotland, bears relevance for scholars beyond the field of Scottish history. Far from being an isolated, peripheral country, early modern Scotland existed at the crossroads of four distinct but overlapping regions and cultures: Britain, Continental Europe, the North Sea community, and the Atlantic world. Events in the British Isles were central to Scottish history as a result of centuries of close and often contentious interaction with England and a Celtic heritage shared with Ireland and Wales. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Scotland maintained its "Auld Alliance" with France and had extensive political and cultural contact with the Netherlands and Scandinavia throughout the early modern period. In the seventeenth century, Scotland also became an essential part of an Atlantic community, thanks to the exchange of goods, people, and ideas. This dissertation situates Scottish demonic belief within this confluence of British, European, and Atlantic religious thought. As such, examining the role of Satan in early modern Scotland presents an important opportunity to illuminate the relationship between national politics, local cultures, and international ideas.

Though political and social contexts are addressed throughout, this dissertation contends the Reformed Protestant concepts of double predestination and total human depravity proved most formative in shaping demonic belief in post-Reformation Scotland. My findings concur with the numerous studies that have traced the development of a Protestant demonology in which temptation and subversion became

Satan's greatest weapons, though this did not negate the devil's physicality.[4] Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth-century, Scots of all sorts struggled to make sense of the doctrines of election and reprobation coupled with the pastoral emphasis on human depravity. Most crucially, the Reformed faith, in both theory and lived experience, entailed a complex and often anxious process of questioning the self. This questioning was bound up with, and found expression in, belief in the devil. Ultimately, a process I term "the internalization of the demonic"— the experience of profound anxiety and self-identification as evil during personal engagement with Satan — became the hallmark of demonic belief in Scotland following the Reformation.

I am not claiming, however, that the Scottish Reformation occasioned the abandonment of medieval ideas and the production of a new, exclusively Protestant demonology, or that the demonic beliefs and experiences discussed here were unique to the Scots. Certainly, as the historians Stuart Clark and Jorge Canizares-Esguerra have shown, Catholic and Protestant demonologies had many similarities, thanks to a shared Augustinian heritage and the mutual reliance on Scripture, among other things.[5] Like Protestant and Catholic Reformations elsewhere in Europe, the Scottish Reformation provoked a renewed interest in Satan's relationship to mankind, hastened by growing

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[4] See Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England" *Journal of British Studies* 43 (2004): 173-205; Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000); Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000).

[5] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 526- 545; Clark, "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition and Society," *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, eds. B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 45-82.

apocalyptic fervor. This did, however, produce a notably Reformed Protestant set of beliefs about the devil that were predicated upon the increased emphases on innate human sinfulness and the insecurity of salvation. Equally important, the study of post-Reformation demonic belief in Scotland reveals that, despite its rigidity in a number of areas, Reformed Protestantism allowed for a fluidity of ideas about Satan, all of which centered on his ubiquitous, intimate presence in all human lives.

The pervasiveness of Reformed demonic belief is predicated on the argument that in Scotland the ideas introduced by the Reformation had a remarkably thorough influence on the majority of the Scottish population. A great deal of ink has been devoted to the history of the Scottish Reformation, which, though not the topic of this dissertation, undergirds many of my conclusions. Scholarly consensus has been that, though the course of the Reformation was at times uneven or contested, the majority of the Scottish population "experienced as remarkably successful a Reformation as anywhere else in Western Europe, on a vastly larger scale than the Calvinist towns on the continent, and in a more profound, penetrating form than anywhere else in the British Isles."[6] As Alec Ryrie has written, "the established Protestant Church in Scotland laid claim to the allegiance of all inhabitants, and did a remarkably good job of tuning that claim into a reality."[7] The comparative success of the Scottish Reformation is further confirmed by the findings of this dissertation, which demonstrates that Reformed Protestantism

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[6] Margo Todd. *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 15.

[7] Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). On this point, see also Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*.

continued to influence the demonic beliefs of Scots from across the social spectrum long after the Reformation.

This persistence of Reformed demonic belief was also due to the fact that the Scottish kirk was, for much of the early modern period, dominated by a Reformed Protestant majority who continued to promote an often militaristic concern with the devil. Though debates— sometimes violent— ensued over the ecclesiastical structure of the church, theology was less contested.[8] James VI and I himself exemplified this fact. Although an unflinching Calvinist, he loathed the Presbyterians who sought to usurp him of his power over the kirk, and he supported episcopacy throughout his reign. Thus Reformed Protestants in Scotland were never a minority in the sense that Puritans were in England. Because of the generally consistent doctrine disseminated from both Presbyterian and Episcopalian pulpits, this comparative theological stability contributed to the prominence of the Reformed conception of Satan among Scots of all sorts.[9]

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[8] As John Coffey has pointed out, the absence of the word "Puritan" in Scotland until the 1620's testifies to "the strongly Reformed nature of the Scottish Church and nation." While the consensus enjoyed by the kirk was upended after 1618 by the influx of "Arminian" ideas from south of the border, most Scots retained a profound sense of loyalty to the Reformed tradition and doctrine. Coffey goes so far as to say that "Scottish Laudians were more Reformed in their pulpit style than were their English counterparts." See John Coffey, "The Problem of 'Scottish Puritanism', 1590–1638," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland And Scotland, 1550–1700*, eds. Elizabethanne Boran, Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 86-7.

[9] The ministers who composed and delivered the majority of Scottish sermons were consistently Calvinist in belief, and most were Presbyterian in training. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were of course Episcopalian ministers delivering sermons as well. However, fewer of these are preserved, and the ones that do exist contain discussions of the devil that were similarly shaped by the tenets of Reformed Protestantism. As scholars have pointed out, opinions on church polity did not negate common theological beliefs. David Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*: *the History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Coffey, "The Problem of 'Scottish Puritanism', 1590–1638," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland And Scotland, 1550–1700*, eds. Elizabethanne Boran, Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Many Scottish ministers also switched ecclesiastical allegiances over the course of their careers.

While the relative theological consensus of the Scottish kirk led to wide acceptance of Reformed ideas about Satan, the tumultuous political situation of Scotland, driven in large part by debates over ecclesiology, simultaneously contributed to concern for the activities of Satan in Scotland through the seventeenth century.[10] The covenanting movement, which had escalated during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, culminated in both fervor and violence following the Restoration. The Restoration resulted in decades of fracas– sometimes deadly— between Episcopalians, moderate Presbyterians, and radical Presbyterians. Charles II may have been a man of few religious convictions himself, but of one thing he was certain: Presbyterianism posed major problems for the monarchy. Episcopacy would be the order of the day, and the Scottish clergy and laity alike were expected to conform. This caused a great deal of unrest in Scotland, including the martyrdom of well-known Covenanters.[11] It should be noted that the term "Covenanter" was not limited to elites or men of the cloth; Scottish Presbyterians of all sorts based much of their identity on their support of the covenanting cause. Satan was a constant presence in the mental worlds of these deeply devout Scots, and as we shall see, the devil figured prominently in their personal writings and sermons, particularly in the late seventeenth century.

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[10] There are many important works that deal with religious controversy and the Covenanters in seventeenth-century Scotland. To name a few: Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion, and Ideas* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003); David Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*: *the History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Morrill, ed. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); David Stevenson, *The Covenanters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Tim Harris, *Restoration*: *Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

[11] See David Stevenson's brief but very useful *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1988). For a definition and discussion of the practice of covenanting, see Chapter Two, below.

Historiography

In recent decades, the devil has been ushered to the forefront of early modern historiography, thanks in large part to the now-voluminous scholarship on European witchcraft.[12] The records of the witch-trials provide an invaluable resource for understanding the place of the devil in the early modern world. As Christina Larner wrote in her groundbreaking *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland*, because of witchcraft records we now know more about how ordinary men and women viewed the devil than how they viewed God.[13] Scottish demonic belief, though solely in the context of witch-belief, has been addressed in a number of illuminating studies.[14]

The bulk of these studies address demonic belief as divided between the separate mental worlds of ordinary folks and elites.[15] As Julian Goodare and Laura Martin wrote in the introduction to *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, "the elite were not

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[12] For recent discussion of the ever-growing field of witchcraft studies, see Malcolm Gaskill, "The Pursuit of Reality: Recent Research into the History of Witchcraft," *Historical Journal*, 51, No. 4 (2008): 1069-1088; Jonathan Barry and Owen Davies, *Palgrave Advances in Witchcraft Historiography* (Basingstroke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007). For surveys of witch-hunting in early modern Europe, see Brian P. Levack *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (London: Longman, 2006); Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (London: Harper-Collins, 1996); Joseph Klaits, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts. (*Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); William Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, Mother Goose: The Rise and Fall of the Witch Hunts in Europe and North America* (London: Longman, 2001).

[13] Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland*, (London: Chatto & Windus,1981), 134. For a recent survey of Scottish witch-hunting, see Brian Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[14] See Joyce Miller, "Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early Modern Scottish Witchcraft Discourse," and Edward Cowen, "Witch Persecution and Popular Belief in Lowland Scotland: the Devil's Decade," in Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller, eds. *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 144-165; Laura Martin, "The Devil and the Domestic: Witchcraft, Quarrels and Women's Work in Scotland," and Stuart MacDonald, "In Search of the Devil in Fife" in Julian Goodare, *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 73-89 and 33-50. These studies, and the historiography of witchcraft more generally, are discussed at length in the fifth chapter of this dissertation.

[15] This suggests the continued influence of the work of Peter Burke. See Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harper and Row, 1978).

detached from popular culture, but they had distinct beliefs and traditions to which the common folk had no access."[16] Though this dissertation recognizes the existence of distinct beliefs about the devil between, and within, these groups, I attempt to provide a corrective to the superficial dichotomy by considering demonic belief as a spectrum. Moreover, the study of demonic belief as evidenced in cases of witchcraft illustrates just one of the ways that ideas about Satan affected life in the early modern world. The devil of the witch-trials can only be fully understood in conjunction with an examination of demonic belief more generally.

Happily, historians have increasingly looked beyond witchcraft to understand the import of Satan in early modern Europe. It is with this body of scholarship that my work most directly engages. The most prolific scholar in the study of the devil has been Jeffery Burton Russell, whose five-volume work on Satan spans the full range of European history, from antiquity through the modern era.[17] In his discussion of the devil in early modern Europe, Russell claims that Protestant Reformers "uncritically accepted virtually the entire tradition of medieval diabology," an argument which has been successfully challenged by a number of historians.[18]

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[16] Goodare and Martin, introduction to *Witchcraft and Belief*, 3.

[17] Jeffrey B. Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); Satan: *The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 1981); *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World (*Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); and *The Prince of Darkness: Evil and the Power of Good of History (I*thaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[18] Russell, *Mephistopheles*, 36; On the formation of a distinctively Protestant demonology based on the emphasis on internal temptation, see Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* ; Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England"; Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil"; Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England*.

Russell's work is useful in providing a framework for how ideas about Satan shifted over the *longue durée*, but his approach to early modern Europe in particular is marred by his tendency to meld the evolution of belief into a neat teleology afforded by the hindsight of the Enlightenment. In particular, he treats the Protestant Reformation as the swan song of the devil's dominance in Christian theodicy, claiming that the cosmic evil of Satan gradually gave way to the rational, human evil emphasized by the Enlightenment.[19] Russell's depiction of Satan's linear decline bears the mark of Keith Thomas's famous thesis about the "essential unity" of the Reformation and the Enlightenment and the modernizing force of Protestantism.[20] The ideas proposed in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* continue to influence how some historians have approached early modern demonology. In 2010, Euan Cameron published *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750*, an ambitious study of how academic theologians throughout Europe defined, and then responded to, superstition, a process in which the devil played a formative role. Like Russell, Cameron sees Protestantism as a "demystifying force" that usurped the devil of independent agency.[21] Satan, while retaining his innately evil nature, was "downgraded…to a helpless tool in

[19] Russell, *Mephistopheles*, esp. pp. 66-76.
[20] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).
[21] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 158. Cameron specifically asserts that "the core theology of the Reformed faith was in *its very essence* a process of demystification." The validity of this statement will be called into question in the conclusion of this dissertation. Here Cameron is clearly influenced by the work of Keith Thomas, and his attempt to reclaim for Protestantism its modernizing force is the primary flaw in an otherwise very perceptive and useful work that is an exemplar of how to assess the context and effects of theological ideas.

the hands of the Almighty."[22] Accordingly, the nature of demonic assault changed, as the sowing of erroneous religious ideas became the devil's main weapon. Cameron claims that over time, this caused the devil "to gradually and imperceptibly slide into the area of metaphor and symbol."[23] Yet despite the theoretical decline of the devil's physical prowess, this dissertation contends that the threat and experience of demonic assaults remained a potent reality for Reformed Protestants in Scotland.

The most sophisticated picture of demonological ideas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (1997). In this pioneering and, at times, staggering study of early modern demonology, Clark explores demonic belief primarily within the context of clerical witch-belief. He is not concerned with the witchcraft prosecutions themselves, but with the beliefs about witches and the devil that informed much more than just the witch-trials. Through the examination of a plethora of printed texts, he argues that for Protestants and Catholics alike, demonology was not an aberrant or

[22] Ibid., 216.
[23] Ibid.

marginalized field of inquiry. [24] Rather, early modern demonology "was a composite subject about the workings of nature, the processes of history, the maintenance of religious purity and the nature of political authority."[25] Clark's study is intellectual and theoretical; he makes no attempt to trace what all these demonological ideas actually *did*, how they played out in the lives of early modern men and women. Throughout *Thinking with Demons*, Clark treats demonology exclusively as a high-culture phenomenon, the concern only of educated elites.

This has been the approach of most scholars of demonology, as well as many historians of European witchcraft who have assumed that intellectuals and uneducated

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[24] Like Russell, but in a much more nuanced way, Clark denies that doctrinal differences had any real impact on Protestant and Catholic demonologies, with the exception of the remedies against witchcraft and possession afforded by the two confessions. As he wrote in an earlier article on Protestant demonology, "concerning the mechanics of demonism, the limitations on the powers of devils to effect changes in the natural world, and their consequent resort to illusion, there is total agreement, based on the shared intellectual indebtedness to Augustine and Aquinas." Though certainly Protestants and Catholics shared an intellectual indebtedness to Augustine, I have never seen a Reformed Protestant reference to Aquinas, at least not in Britain. Clark bases his assertions primarily on what theologians had to say about the devil in the context of witch-belief or possession, and indeed within this context, there was a marked amount of common ground between the two confessions. Moreover, Clark is correct that across confessions, Satan and his demons had the same limits placed on "mechanics" such as movement, physicality, and enacting miracles. This does not mean, however, that the devil held the same role in worldviews of both denominations. Catholics and Protestants may have articulated the same idea about Satan based on the use of a shared text, but within their broader theological frameworks, this idea could have held quite a different meaning. To give a specific example, both Protestants and Catholics cited 1 Peter 5:8 to warn of Satan's ever-present desire to tempt men into sinning: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Within the larger Reformed Protestant belief system, the threat of this "roaring lion" and his aim to "devour" believers did not mean that demonic assaults could actually cause damnation, which was already predetermined by God. Nor could the good work of combatting Satan directly lead to salvation. The meaning for Catholics (and other Protestants as well) who rejected the doctrine of double predestination would have been quite different, then, as the devil and human reaction to him could actually determine the afterlife. See Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, especially pp. 526- 545; "Protestant Demonology," 47.

[25] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, viii.

people viewed the devil from distinct cultural vantages.[26] One notable exception to this trend is Fernando Cervantes' *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain.,* which details how Catholic belief in the devil affected the beliefs of the Amerindians of New Spain. Though *The Devil in New Spain* is a work of intellectual history that relies mainly on literate sources, Cervantes expresses in his introduction the necessity of avoiding the pitfalls of a bipartite model of early modern religiosity when studying Satan:

> There is no question that the idea of the devil belongs equally to both cultures and that it cannot be forced exclusively into either of them without gross simplification and impoverishment. Consequently, the subject of diabolism emphatically requires an approach that transcends the common division into "popular" and "elite" groups. Only thus will it be possible to understand early modern diabolism as part of single culture in which both the popular and the educated had a share.

Some twenty years after Cervantes issued this call, few works on the devil have achieved the aim of not just presenting the demonic beliefs of educated and uneducated alike, but placing these in dialogue as two components of an overlapping and largely shared whole.

Two relatively recent studies of the devil in early modern England have begun to fill this this historical lacuna. Both Darren Oldridge's *The Devil in Early Modern England* (2000) and Nathan Johnstone's *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (2006) have broadened the study of formal demonology by analyzing literary

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[26] The works that have discussed demonology as included in but also independent of witchcraft discourse include the works of Russell, note 22 above; Jonathan Pearl, The Crime of Crimes*; Demonology and Politics in France, 1560-1620* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999); Fernando Cervantes, The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism;* Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil"; Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England*. Two useful literary studies of demonology during the Renaissance are Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers. Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) and Armando Maggi, *Satan's Rhetoric: A Study of Renaissance Demonology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

works, plays, and printed pamphlets intended for the masses. Both studies begin with the English Reformation and end with the English Civil War, focusing on the development of Protestant demonic belief rather than its persistence through the seventeenth century. Oldridge's work, a very accessible overview of the topic, asks how Protestant ideas about the devil impacted English society. Primarily using popular pamphlets, printed spiritual diaries, cases of witchcraft, and a few sermons, he argues that the ideas of Protestantism led to a concept of the devil in which demonic physicality was eschewed in favor of the mental threat posed by the devil.[27] Subversion and temptation had now become Satan's greatest weapons. Oldridge contends that this emphasis on temptation "created an image of Satan which was more dreadful and implacable than the one favored by many late medieval thinkers", and demonstrates how the godly in England attempted to communicate this new image of Satan to the masses.[28]

Despite the fact that Protestant theologians often modified the new views of the devil to meet the needs of a popular audience, Oldridge argues that traditional beliefs about Satan, particularly his physicality, continued to flourish.[29] Two chapters devoted to "popular culture"— accessed through pamphlet literature and cases of witchcraft and possession— reveal the continuation of traditional ideas about Satan, such as his tendency to appear as an animal. Though he claims that the persistence of such ideas about the devil "indicates that they were largely unaffected by the advent of

[27] Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England*.
[28] Ibid., 3.
[29] Ibid.

Protestantism", he also identifies the emergence of "a remarkable mélange of apparently incongruous ideas" about the devil that were neither distinctly Protestant nor Catholic.[30]

Nathan Johnstone's *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*, a more nuanced and ambitious but also more problematic work, deals with the same topic and time frame as Oldridge. Johnstone uses a similar body of sources to demonstrate that following the English Reformation, "a subtle realignment of emphasis rather than attack upon tradition" produced a "Protestant demonism" in which subversion and temptation were touted as the devil's greatest threats.[31] He demonstrates that popular ideas about the devil's physicality, especially in cases of witchcraft, persisted alongside the new theologically-driven picture of the "Devil's invisible subversive agency."[32] Johnstone is careful to point out that while the internal and external interpretations of the devil were in no way mutually exclusive, the emphasis on the internal temptation of the devil was increasingly important in English Protestantism.

The most interesting aspect of Johnstone's approach is his rejection of the binary, conceptual understanding of the devil as popularized by Stuart Clark. According to Johnstone, Clark's emphasis on contrariety implies that people understood Satan not by what he was, but what he was not. This lent the devil a contingent reality in which he could be understood, but not felt. Alternatively, Johnstone suggests that the devil was important in early modern culture because the "identification of diabolic agency within

[30] Ibid., 89.
[31] Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism.*1-2.
[32] Ibid.

religious, social, and political commonplaces allowed people to engage with an experience of the Devil which was positively felt."[33]

Achieved most successfully in his discussions of spiritual diaries, Johnstone's focus on the experiential reality of Satan has been instructive for this dissertation. Unfortunately, in his attempt to move away from any functional or purely conceptual interpretation of the devil—away from the theoretical demonology of witchcraft discourse to the "demonism" of Protestant experience— Johnstone hastily rejects any suggestion that belief in the devil served as a vehicle or conduit for other experiences or emotions. He contends that "in functionalizing diabolic assault by rationalizing it as a palliative for something else— vulnerability of conscience and devotional weakness— there is a tendency to present the experience of the demonic as largely a retrospective process of narrative creation."[34] While he is right to reject any reductive or functionalist interpretations of demonic belief, both the concept and the experience of the devil in Scotland were imbedded with meanings about sin and salvation. This does not imply that demonic experiences were only used as some sort of discursive tool, though sometimes that was case. Rather, the fact that the devil represented a whole slew of early modern preoccupations with sin and self made the experience of the devil all the more present and tangible- and indeed, worth recording for posterity. Because he is at pains to counter any assertion that the devil could be a metaphor or rhetorical tool, Johnstone inadvertently confines Satan to the realm of personal experience and ignores the important ways that patterns of demonic belief influenced culture and identity.

[33] Ibid., 17.
[34] Ibid., 22.

Though our examinations of demonic belief share important conclusions, particularly with regard to the creation of a distinctively Protestant demonology centered on temptation, my work differs from both that of Oldridge and Johnstone in a few critical ways. While both authors devote much attention to the question of "popular" belief, this they do primarily through printed sources such as broadsides and literary works. While Johnstone is correct to aver that these sources ought not be dismissed as strictly elite and unrepresentative of popular beliefs, the window they provide into the mentalities of uneducated people remains indirect and clouded. My work seeks to correct this omission by using the records of the Scottish kirk sessions to uncover the place of the devil in the worldview of Scots unable to leave behind written records of their own.[35] Of course, these sources, filtered through the ears of the session elders and the hand of the session clerk, are fraught with interpretive problems of their own.[36] Nonetheless, the minutes of the kirk session allow the historian to recover the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots in new and exciting ways.

Another important omission from the work of both Oldridge and Johnstone is any serious engagement with the development of Reformed theology and its influence on post-Reformation demonic belief. Of course, both studies are concerned with Protestantism in general terms. Yet neither asks what specifically about Reformed Protestant theology led to a reshaping of demonic beliefs. There is no discussion, for

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[35] On the history and function of the kirk sessions, see Chapter Three, below; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Michael. F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: Godly Discipline and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (NY: Leiden, 1996).
[36] See the introduction to Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism.*

example, of predestination in either book. Theology is almost treated as an outlier or by-product of the Reformation, rather than a determinant of new ways of thinking. This is, perhaps, because both authors are interested in what English men and women had to say about the devil in the generations following the Reformation, rather than what precisely it was about Protestantism that led to these demonic beliefs. By assessing how discussions of Satan in theological texts from Britain and the Continent influenced the Scottish Reformation, theological ideas are here afforded their proper efficacy.

Previous studies of the early modern devil have made little or no effort to place local and national demonologies within an international context.[37] Neither Oldridge nor Johnstone, for example, situate English demonic belief in a British context, virtually ignoring both Scotland and New England. Yet studying the effects of a transnational, even global force such as Reformed Protestantism on demonic belief is a topic not only ripe for comparison; it demands it. Philip Benedict's *Christ Church's Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* has cogently illustrated, along with numerous other studies on the topic of "International Calvinism," that Reformed Protestantism had transformative power—positive and negative— as a personal, local, national, and international force.[38] To understand the role of the devil in early modern Scotland as fully as possible, demonic belief must be considered as the product of a combination of

[37] The work of Stuart Clark is, of course, excluded from this. This criticism is levied specifically at the national histories of demonic belief in England and France, by Oldridge, Johnstone, and Pearl, respectively.

[38] Philip Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Menna Preswich, ed. *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Mack P. Holt, ed., *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong* (London: Ashgate Press, 2007); A. Duke, G. Lewis & A. Pettegree, eds. *Calvinism in Europe, 1560-1620* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994); W. Fred Graham, ed., *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, XXII (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1994).

local and international currents and compared with demonological ideas outside Scotland. Throughout the individual chapters of this dissertation, I have tried to situate the Scottish demonic in its larger British and European contexts. My comparative focus has been, for reasons of time and language, on England, New England, and Huguenot France.

Sources and Methodology

Belief is an elusive term. As Julian Goodare and Joyce Miller write in their introduction to *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, belief "appears to be about people's inner thoughts, which are not themselves directly accessible; we have only their words, written or spoken, which we must use as indirect evidence for their thoughts."[39] This leaves the historian with an important methodological question: how do we critically consider the available sources when trying to recreate something as intangible as belief? An equal challenge is posed by the temptation to assess those beliefs of the past based on how they corresponded with reality. To be more specific, in examining subjects such as witchcraft or demonic possession, it is tempting to ask questions of reality. Did people really practice witchcraft, meet and copulate with Satan, and renounce their baptisms? Did the devil actually possess young men and women, making them speak in tongues, regurgitate foreign objects, and even levitate? While these questions are certainly intriguing, attempting to answer them with medical, psychological, or religious reasoning obscures the aim of this dissertation: to recreate the place of the devil in the mental worlds of early modern Scots, and to locate how this demonic belief influenced Scottish culture, identity, and lived experience. As Jonathan

[39] Goodare and Miller, introduction to *Witchcraft and Belief*, 1.

Barry and Owen Davies wrote of witchcraft, demonic belief too demands "to be understood in the context of the perceived realities of past societies."[40] The past or present reality of Satan thus has no relevance to this study. What matters is that for the men and women considered here, the devil had an undeniable presence in their lives.

To recreate, as thoroughly and holistically as possible, the role of Satan in Scottish culture is a task that involves the mining of a wide array of sources. My approach has been primarily empirical, entailing a close reading of a broad range of texts with attention to the voices and circumstances which produced them. Theologians and educated elites in Scotland left behind plenty of evidence for their demonic beliefs. Theological writings, manuscript and printed sermons, spiritual diaries, personal covenants, conversion narratives, letters, commonplace books, and poetry have all been used in the chapters below to illustrate what Scots who were able and inclined to record their beliefs had to say about Satan.[41]

Sermons present an interesting methodological challenge, as they reveal not just the demonic beliefs of the Scottish divines who composed them but also the listening predilections of the Scottish public. Sermons were not simply a one-way street; ministers had to be receptive to the needs of their parishioners and the agenda of the kirk. Whenever possible, I have addressed sermons as a conversation between three parties: the minister, the audience, and God. I have assessed, as best I could, the reception of

[40] Barry and Davies, *Palgrave Advances*, 1.

[41] The majority of these sources are held at the National Library of Scotland and the National Archives of Scotland, both in Edinburgh, as well as at the University of Edinburgh Library. Many printed sermons and theological works from the period are also available digitally at *Early English Books Online*.

these sermons, as well as ideas from other theological writings, by examining the ways in which sermonic ideas played out in other contemporary sources.

In my attempt to determine the beliefs of ordinary Scots who did not or could not directly record their own demonological ideas, I have also examined broadsides, cases of witchcraft, and ecclesiastical court records. Broadsides detailing murders and last words (primarily of criminals prior to executions), in which the devil featured prominently, present a unique combination of the opinions of educated lay and clerical authors, preferences of printers, and tastes of a growing Scottish readership.[42] Though these printed pamphlets cannot be accepted uncritically as indicative of popular belief, they should not be dismissed as unreflective of prevailing ideas about Satan. The consistency with which the devil was featured in these sources demonstrates, at the very least, the religious norms that appealed to the consuming public.[43]

Scottish cases of witchcraft, which involve records of depositions, examinations by the court, confessions of the accused, and testimonies of witnesses, provide an invaluable resource for accessing the demonic beliefs from across the social spectrum. Satan, as in the instigator of sin and the source of the witches' power, featured prominently in the witch-trials in Scotland. These cases are, accordingly, a crucial but challenging source for locating what Scots of all sorts believed about the devil in the context of witch-belief. The origins of the demonic beliefs found in witchcraft records are

[42] See Chapter Five, below, for a discussion of literacy in Scotland as it pertained to broadside literature.
[43] The majority of these broadsides are housed at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, and many are available on the NLS Digital Collection of Broadsides, "The Word on the Street," or on Early English Books Online.

often unclear, which necessitates their comparison with demonological ideas found elsewhere.

My dissertation is the first to use the records of the local ecclesiastical court, the Scottish kirk session, to uncover what ordinary Scots thought about the devil outside of cases of witchcraft. The kirk session was established in Scotland following the Reformation in 1560 to dole out justice for moral crimes considered a threat to the creation of a godly community, such as cursing, blasphemy, drinking on the Sabbath, fornication, and adultery. The local nature of the kirk session and its importance to the early modern Scottish community cannot be over-emphasized. Most members of a Scottish community could expect to appear before the session, as a defendant, an accuser or a witness, over the course of a lifetime.[44] It is in the pages of these kirk session records, which are voluminous, that the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots are most clearly heard.

At times, I have likened my examination of this variety of sources— particularly the copious records of the kirk session— to looking for needles in haystacks. I have attempted throughout to choose a thorough and representative sample of these divergent source materials. Most importantly, my dissertation consistently places these sources in dialogue with one another. How did spiritual diaries reflect the prevailing ideas about Satan as promoted from the pulpit? In what ways did popular broadsides contradict or confirm the demonological ideas espoused in theological writings? How did sermons incorporate the demonic beliefs made manifest in court records and cases of witchcraft,

[44] See Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 8-23.

and vice versa? In short, I have tried to reveal a dialogue, not just among the sources, but between the Scottish perspectives and experiences that created them. Despite different nuances in and applications of demonic belief, Scots conceived their ideas about Satan from a combination of personal experiences and a "shared pool of cultural meanings."[45] The evidence for such cultural meanings among diverse social groups is, of course, asymmetrical.[46] Nonetheless, through the use of this wide-ranging body of sources, this dissertation aspires to recreate the varied but shared demonic beliefs of early modern Scots and to uncover the profound implications of this belief for their identity and culture.

A few things need to be said about my terminology. The choice of the label "Reformed Protestant" over "Calvinism" reflects both historical accuracy and historiographical consensus. Simply put, Reformed thought was not the product solely of Calvin's theology, and the term "Reformed Protestantism" indicates the varied and dynamic heritage of this influential strand of Protestantism.[47] Throughout this dissertation, I have used the terms "Reformed Protestant", "godly", and "Puritan" (when discussing England and New England) to indicate those individuals whose religious

[45] This phrase is Annabel Gregory's, in "Witchcraft, Politics and 'Good Neighborhood' in Early Seventeenth Century Rye," *Past and Present* 131 (1991), 52.
[46] Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).
[47] For the best explanation of why "Reformed Protestant" is a more accurate term than "Calvinist", see the introduction to Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed.*

views and often self-identification placed them in this zealous Protestant camp.[48] Of course, these are messy terms, and within this camp there was debate over specific theological, ecclesiological, and political issues. For the purposes of the topic at hand, however, my research has demonstrated relative consistency among Reformed Protestants in Scotland about Satan. Therefore, despite the risk of oversimplification, these imperfect labels will have to suffice.

It should also be noted that though most Scottish Reformed Protestants identified as Presbyterians by the early seventeenth century, Presbyterianism in the strictest sense refers to the organization of church government rather than a specific set of theological beliefs. Though the majority of Presbyterians were Reformed Protestants, not all Reformed Protestants were Presbyterians, King James VI and I being the most famous example. Thus when I do use the term "Presbyterian", it is not to denote individual religious belief but rather allegiance to an ecclesiastical system (and increasingly in the seventeenth century, a political party). My terminology is further clarified in my individual chapters as needed.

Organization

With the exception of my opening chapter, the organization of this dissertation is thematic rather than chronological. The individual chapters are arranged primarily according to my diverse body of sources, while collectively demonstrating the influence

[48] On religious terminology in early modern Scotland, see John Coffey, "The Problem of 'Scottish Puritanism', 1590–1638," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland And Scotland, 1550–1700*, eds. Elizabethanne Boran, Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 66-90. For complications regarding the terms "Puritan" and "godly" when discussing England, see Patrick Collinson, "A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 483-88 and Richard L. Greaves, "The Puritan-Nonconformist Tradition in England: Historiographical Reflections," *Albion* 17 (1985): 449-486.

of demonic belief on theology, culture, and identity in early modern Scotland. Chapter One utilizes theological writings and Reformation-era sermons to assess how the introduction of Reformed Protestantism occasioned a reworking of demonology in Scotland based on the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and double predestination. I demonstrate how these doctrines dovetailed with the increased interest in eschatology to heighten the concern for and immediacy of the devil. Here much attention is afforded to how the theology of John Calvin and his fellow Reformers informed the demonic beliefs of influential Scots such as John Knox and James VI. The goal of this chapter, in short, is to lay the theological groundwork for examining how generations of men and women in post-Reformation Scotland understood the nature of the devil and his involvement in their world.

Shifting emphasis from theology to pastoral practice, Chapter Two illustrates how ministers used sermonic discussions of the devil to convey the more complex messages of Reformed Protestantism such as predestination and the depravity of man to the Scottish public. In their attempt to convert demonological ideas into pastoral practice and personal belief, these ministers reinforced the importance of individual responsibility and communal identity in the face of an ever active adversary. The prominence of Satan in Scottish sermons, which continued through the end of the seventeenth century, also reflected an active interest in and concern for the devil amongst the laity.

By examining the records of the Scottish kirk session, my third chapter unearths the demonic beliefs of the Scots who filled the pews of the kirks, frequented the alehouses, farmed the fields, shopped the streets, and took their grievances to court. Their

views about the devil have long been neglected or presumed unrecoverable. This chapter contends that the frequency and variety with which the devil appears in the kirk session records demonstrate that ordinary Scots believed fervently in a devil who could be experienced physically, mentally, and spiritually. Their references to the devil indicate an active blending of folk, medieval, and Reformed ideas about Satan within the framework of a surprisingly accommodating Protestant demonology.

My fourth chapter uses the self-writings of both ministers and educated laypeople to further investigate how belief in the devil influenced daily life and identity. These sources reveal that encountering the devil was a profoundly personal experience that implicated complex questions of sin, self, and salvation. The result was an internal and often traumatic struggle through which these Scots came to define their faith, their communities, and their personal identities.

My fifth chapter examines the communal, publicized evidences of the devil's actions and influence as they appeared in printed murder cases, dying accounts, and last words. The devil in these printed works reified the universality of demonic temptation, making manifest to a wide audience the admonitions about Satan and sin so often disseminated from the pulpit and experienced in spiritual diaries. These public stories demonstrate that through the early eighteenth century, the devil —and the theologically Reformed notions of his actions— was central to how both individuals and communities understood death, murder, and most importantly, themselves.

Chapter Six addresses the most famous sources of Scottish demonic belief— cases of witchcraft and demonic possession— and qualifies the distinction between

"popular" and "elite" witch-beliefs. [49] Here I contend that cases of Scottish witchcraft depict a composite devil that was the product of influential Reformed demonic ideas blended with traditional notions about the physicality of Satan, exemplifying both the fluidity and ubiquity of demonic belief in early modern Scotland. The result was a devil that was at once frightening and surprisingly quotidian—and dangerous because of this quotidian pervasiveness. This chapter also explains the relationship between Reformed Protestantism and the relative dearth of possession cases in Scotland.

Last, my concluding chapter further situates Scottish demonic belief in its larger British, Atlantic, and European contexts. Through comparison with the role of the devil in the Reformed Protestant areas of England, New England, and France, this chapter identifies a process of "internalizing the demonic" unique to the Reformed communities in the Anglophone world. This process illustrates how the correlation between the devil's abilities and human nature undergirded Reformed demonic belief in Scotland and beyond. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the power of demonic belief to determine, in profound ways, how early modern men and women conceptualized themselves and the world around them.

[49] For a discussion (and defense) of the division of popular and elite witch-belief, see Goodare and Martin, introduction to *Witchcraft and Belief*, 1-25.

Chapter One: Reforming the Devil

Theology had powerful efficacy in early modern Scotland. Most immediately, new theological ideas informed the allegiances and worldviews of the educated elites. Beyond this, Reformed Protestantism permeated the cultures and identities of ordinary folks, producing new ways of believing and behaving in an uncertain world. The study of demonic belief in early modern Scotland testifies to the ways in which theological ideas influenced personal belief and lived experience across the social spectrum. Before questions of belief and experience can be comprehensively understood, however, we must ask not just how but *why* Reformed theology led to new ways of thinking about the devil and his involvement in human lives. What was it about the Reformed brand of Protestantism that provoked a reevaluation of demonology and ushered the devil to the forefront of Scottish culture and identity?

This chapter lays the theological groundwork for examining how generations of men and women in post-Reformation Scotland understood the nature of the devil and his involvement in their world. Ultimately, the specifics of Reformed theology proved consequential for the demonic beliefs of many Scots. Though demonology in Scotland maintained much of its medieval character, the Reformed emphasis on the sovereignty of God, double predestination, and the total depravity of man dovetailed with the rise of apocalyptic anticipation to realign and intensify demonic belief in Scotland following the Reformation in 1560. To illustrate the theological relationship between Reformed Protestantism and demonic belief in Scotland, this chapter examines the development of Reformed demonology by John Calvin and other early Continental reformers and then

traces the expression and development of these ideas by the first generation of the Reformed Scottish clergy.[1]

The ideas of the Reformation came to Scotland mid-century and reached their climax in 1560 with the composition of *the Scots Confession*, by which the Scottish kirk officially severed its ties to Rome.[2] The Scottish Reformation has a long and rich historiography. Historians continue to chart and re-chart the course of the Reformation, ask what exactly it achieved, and debate the ways in which it succeeded in reforming Scottish society.[3] Though certainly not without hiccups along the way, from an

[1] I am defining "first generation" as those Scottish divines who, through theological writings and sermons, promoted Reformed theology throughout Scotland from the beginning of the Scottish Reformation through the 1590's. Most historians agree that by the final decade of the sixteenth century, the Reformation had achieved some political and religious stability. See note 3, below. The desire to maintain and further pursue the cause of the Reformation, however, continued through the seventeenth century, which is the chronological focus of the subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

[2] For the text of the Scots Confession of 1560, see Arthur C. Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 159-84. For an analysis of the theology of the Scots Confession, see W. Ian P. *Hazlett,* "*The Scots Confession* 1560: Context, Complexion and Critique," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 287-320.

[3] The topic of the Reformation in Scotland has long been an important subject of historical debate, the nuances of which are too complex to address at length in this dissertation. For a few of the most important works on the Scottish Reformation, see Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press ,1985); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 1991); Alan MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). For two recent, comprehensive works on the periods before, during, and just after the Reformation, see Jane Dawson, Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587 **(**Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007) and Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). For a ground-breaking study of the influence of the Reformation on ordinary Scots, see Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). For a good local study of the aftermath Reformation and the complexity of Protestant success in Scotland, see John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife, 1560-1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

international perspective the Scottish Reformation achieved remarkable success.[4] The vibrant, sensual Catholicism of medieval Scotland gave way to Reformed Protestantism with almost no violence, though bloodshed for the sake of further reformation would come to Scotland less than a century later.[5] When the sixteenth century drew to a close, Reformed Protestantism had forever altered the kirk, the government, and the lives of the Scottish people.

Though the course of the Scottish Reformation itself lay beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is useful to ask why the Scottish Reformation achieved comparative success in its implementation of Reformed Protestantism, which to this day guides the theology of the Church of Scotland.[6] To simplify a very complex answer, two key factors help explain the uniquely thorough nature of the Scottish Reformation. First, the implementation of Protestantism in Scotland did not begin with a royal mandate, but developed rather organically due to the involvement clergyman, lawyers, and lesser nobility. The particularly localized nature of the Reformation was facilitated in no small

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[4] This, of course, has been a key subject of debate. The consensus remains, however, that comparatively the Scottish Reformation was more thorough, lasting, and peaceful then in other areas of Europe. For a discussion of the nature of the Scottish Reformation and Calvinism from an international perspective, see Philip Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 152-172; Michael Lynch, "Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638," *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, ed. Menna Preswich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 225-256; and Michael Graham, "The Civil Sword and the Scottish Kirk, 1560-1600" in W. Fred Graham, ed., *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives* (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1994), 237-266.

[5] For discussions of the religious and political violence in seventeenth-century Scotland, see David Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Morrill, ed. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); David Stevenson, *The Covenanters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Stevenson, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-1651 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); Tim Harris, *Restoration*: *Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

[6] The Church of Scotland, which is Presbyterian in polity and Reformed Protestant in doctrine, is legally recognized as the national church and is guaranteed under the Act of Union of Scotland and England of 1707. It is not state-controlled, as the Church of England is.

way by the actions of the kirk sessions, ecclesiastical courts established in parishes in both Lowland and Highland Scotland.[7] Charged with furthering the goals of the Reformation through the enforcement of moral discipline, the kirk sessions disseminated new Protestant ideas to ordinary Scots while also allowing them to participate in the reforming process.[8] The English Reformation, comparatively, was imposed from above and never had the local traction afforded to the Scottish Reformation by these parish church courts.[9]

The second component of the Scottish Reformation's success lies its comparatively late date. During the 1540's and 1550's, John Knox and his fellow Scottish reformers spent considerable time among Huguenots in France and Calvinists in Geneva, honing their ideas about what the godly Scottish kirk should be and how they

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[7] On the spread of Protestantism to the Highlands, see Jane Dawson, "Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland" in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 231-253. Here Dawson argues that though the kind of reformation achieved in the Lowlands did not occur in the Highlands, there was nonetheless the creation of a vibrant Gaelic Calvinism achieved through assimilation to Gaelic culture and institutional flexibility on the part of the Scottish kirk and its Highland ministers.

[8] On the local nature of the Scottish Reformation, see Chapter Three of this dissertation. Also see Margo Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*; John McCallum, *Reforming the Parish*; Frank D. Bargett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989); and Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change 1490-1600* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997). On the role of ecclesiastical discipline in furthering the Scottish Reformation, see Michael. F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: Godly Discipline and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (New York: Leiden, 1996).

[9] At the ecclesiastical level, the English Reformation was also only partially successful, at least in terms of staying power. Dissension dominated the English Church throughout the early modern period, and the Anglicans, many of whom favored the rituals and theology of the high church, eventually came out on top, thanks in large part to perpetual support from the English crown. This has been an important subject of English historiography. For very different assessments of religion in England following the Reformation, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

could quickly promulgate Protestantism to the Scottish public. [10] When Knox and company returned to Scotland and pushed for Reformation in 1560 , the way forward had already been paved by the penetration of Lutheran ideas into Scottish society as early as the 1520's and the influence of Reformed Protestantism from England since the 1530's.[11] What were the new Protestant ideas introduced into Scotland, and how did they affect Scottish demonic belief? To answer begins with the development of Reformed demonology on the Continent and theology of one particularly ambitious and exacting French lawyer.

Reformed Demonology

At the heart of Scottish demonic belief throughout the early modern period lay the demonological ideas developed by John Calvin and other early Continental reformers.[12] In the 1530's, Calvin began to write arduously about his views on theological reform and the fledgling Protestantism. A second generation reformer who sought to improve upon the ideas proposed by Luther two decades earlier, Calvin was trained as a lawyer but

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[10] On Knox's time in Europe, see Euan Cameron, "Frankfort and Geneva: The European Context of John Knox's Reformation," in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). On the details of the early years of the Scottish Reformation, see Jane Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587***.**

[11] See Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 29-36.

[12] The body of work on John Calvin, in the forms of biography and theological exposition, is vast. The most famous biography of Calvin is William Bouswma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), though this is not a study of Calvin's theology. On Calvin's theology, see François Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought* (New York: Harper and Row,1963); Alister McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin: A Study in the Shaping of Western Culture* (Chicago: Blackwell, 1990); Donald K. McKim, ed., *Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); For a discussion of the influence on Calvin's ideas on the religious landscape of Europe, see the classic John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954) and the comprehensive work by Philip Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed,* as well as the comparative studies mentioned in note 4, above.

abandoned his legal career to pursue his religious calling. His magnum opus, *the Institutes of the Christian Religion*, was first published in Latin in 1536 and marked the beginning of a thirty-year career of theological exploration, preaching, and publishing.[13]

Much ink has been devoted to the issue of whether the theology of Calvin can characterize the whole of Reformed Protestantism. The general conclusion is, and rightly so, that Calvin was just one important member of a large group of Protestant reformers. His theological ideas did not emerge in a vacuum, and many men deserve credit for the development of the Reformed tradition.[14] That said, it is undeniable that Calvin's ideas about soteriology and religious practice dramatically altered the religious landscape of Europe in the sixteenth century. In the case of Scotland, the influence of Calvinist thought can be directly traced through the person of John Knox, who learned the basics of Reformed theology and Presbyterian polity during his time in Geneva.[15] At the same time, the growth of French Protestantism spread Calvinist ideas to Scotland through the many political and intellectual connections between the two countries.[16] Thus to

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[13] The standard English translation of Calvin's *Institutes*, and the one used here, is J.T McNeill, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960).

[14] For the best discussion of the collective development of the Reformed tradition, see part one of Philip Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed.* See also Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[15] Though Knox and Calvin emerged from divergent political contexts and differed on certain points of theology and practice, such as eschatology and political rebellion, Calvinist thought directly shaped Knox's understanding of divine providence and God's attending direction of Satan's actions in the world. See Richard Kyle, "John Knox's Concept of Divine Providence," *Albion*, 18 (1986): 397. For a discussion of the points of divergence in Knoxian and Calvinist thought, as well as the influence of other Reformers on Knox, see Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1980), 217-224.

[16] For more on the relationship between Scottish and French Reformers, see W. Stanford Reid, "Reformation in France and Scotland: A Case Study in Sixteenth Century Communication," in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994): 195-214.

understand post-Reformation demonology in Scotland, an extended analysis of Calvin's general theology and his specific demonological ideas is necessary here.

First and foremost, an uncompromising belief in the sovereignty of God dictated Calvin's theology. He penned in the first chapter of his *Institutes* that

> God claims, and would have us grant him, omnipotence— not the empty, idle, and almost unconscious sort that the Sophists imagine, but a watchful, effective, active sort, engaged in ceaseless activity…For he is deemed omnipotent, not because he can indeed act, yet sometimes ceases and sits in idleness, or continues by a general impulse that order of nature which he previously appointed; but because, governing and heaven and earth by his providence, he regulates all things that nothing takes place without his deliberation.[17]

Calvin's God was no passive clockmaker. Divine providence indelibly shaped everything that occurred in this world and in the next. The mysteries of His creation and intent existed far beyond human comprehension, and Calvin cautioned against trying to penetrate the secret will of this sovereign and ultimately unknowable God: "For it is not right for men unrestrainedly to search out things that the Lord has willed to be hid in himself…He has set forth by his Word the secrets of his will that he decided to reveal to us."[18] Scripture thus provided man with all the answers God intended him to have.

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[17] *Institutes,* I.xvi.3.

[18] Ibid., III.xxi.1.

This emphasis on divine authority found its most potent expression in the doctrine of double predestination. [19] Calvin based his beliefs about election on Scripture, particularly on Paul's epistle to the Romans, which affirmed that prior to the creation of the world, God chose both a certain number of people to save, known as the elect, and condemned the rest to perdition. Calvin explained in the *Institutes* that

> We say that God once established by his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom he long before determined once for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction. We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan was founded upon his freely given mercy, without regard to human worth; but by his just and irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment he has barred the door of life to those whom he has given over to damnation.[20]

Men and women, within whom "nothing appears…that is not tainted with very great impurity," had no say in the matter of salvation, which lay exclusively in the hands of God.[21] For Calvin, double predestination emerged from the application of divine sovereignty to its logical extreme.

The decree of reprobation in particular was the product of the divine justice for the total depravity of man. The fall of Adam, which was itself permitted by God, caused all future humans to be cursed and unable to actively attain salvation. Calvin explained

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[19] It should be noted that some historians, such as Menna Prestwich and R.T Kendall, have contended that it was Theodore Beza rather than Calvin who made double predestination a key doctrine of Reformed theology. While Beza increasingly asserted the centrality of this doctrine, Calvin undoubtedly advocated the idea of double predestination in the *Institutes* and indeed influenced Beza's own views. More importantly, though within the Reformed tradition, thoughts about Predestination differed in terms of presentation and definition, "the substance of the doctrine, however, was unchanged. In other words, the basic premise of the doctrine, whether formulated as a single or double decree or in infra- or supralapsarian terms, is that salvation rests on the free and sovereign elect of God and damnation results from human sin." See Muller, *After Calvin*, 12. For a further discussion of the development of predestination theology and the Reformation, see Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids, 1988), 79-96.

[20] *Institutes*, III.xxi.7. Calvin based his beliefs about election primarily on Romans, 9:10-18. In particular, Romans 9:11 made clear for Calvin the doctrine of double predestination.

[21] *Institutes* I.i.2.

that "when Adam was despoiled, human nature was left naked and destitute…when he was infected with sin, contagion crept into human nature."[22] The original, absolute condemnation of mankind was thus "imprinted on the heavens, and on the earth, and on all creatures," and only through God's undeserved grace—given through Christ— could people be saved.[23] Like the providence of God, man ought to accept the justice of election and reprobation without extensive questioning, for it was "indeed in reality a labyrinth, from which the mind of man can by no means extricate itself."[24]

The belief in and awe at the sovereignty of God, and the attending concepts of double predestination and the depravity of man, formed an unbroken chain of reasoning throughout Calvin's writings. In the mid-sixteenth century, these theological ideas spread widely across Europe, disseminated through Calvin's writings, the publication of his sermons, and perhaps most importantly, his interactions with other reformers. By the late sixteenth century, Calvinism had arguably become the most influential strand of Protestantism. His ideas, of course, did not constitute the whole corpus of Reformed Protestant theology. The scholastic exposition of Calvinist theology by future reformers, as well as divergent cultural and geographical contexts, led to important and consequential additions and amendments to the Reformed tradition.

To detail one important example, Theodore Beza, the third generation reformer and Calvin's hand-picked successor at Geneva, accorded even more importance to the

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[22] Ibid., II.i.7.
[23] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (1539), trans. Rev. John Owen. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), 305.
[24] Ibid., 353.

doctrine of double predestination through his development of supralapsarianisn. This was the view, most famously laid out in his *Tabula praedestinationis* (1555), that God had chosen the elect and the reprobate prior to his decree of Adam's fall, which itself then provided the means for the predetermined damnation of some.[25] These ideas were summarized in his *Propositions and Principles of Divinity*, which would be translated and published in Edinburgh in 1591 and again in 1595. With regard to reprobation, here Beza explained that "all those, whom it pleased the same GOD, who is debtor unto no man, in justice to leave in their own corruption…and worthily to deliver up unto Satan, and their own concupiscence…will he one day, according unto his eternal Predestination, adjudge together with Satan unto eternal punishments, laying open in their just destruction, the glory of his great and most just hatred against evil." [26] Like Calvin, Beza averred that the decrees of election and damnation were not only absolute, but ultimately unknowable to lowly man, as "the manifesting of this decree of Reprobation, is to be left unto God."[27] This extreme emphasis on double predestination would have profound consequences in early modern Scotland and elsewhere, as ordinary believers were encouraged to look tirelessly within themselves for marks of either grace or damnation.[28]

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[25] On Beza's predestinarian theology, see Mullan, *Christ and the Decree*, 79-96; Shawn D. Wright, *Our Sovereign Refuge: The Pastoral Theology of Theodore Beza, Studies in Christian History and Thought* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004). Perhaps most importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, Beza's surpalapsarian view was adopted by English Reformer William Perkins, whose works proved influential in Scotland as well as England. On Perkins' work, see Chapter Seven, below.

[26] Theodore Beza, *Propositions and Principles of Divinity* (Edinburgh, 1591).

[27] Ibid.

[28] Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 302.

Though other second-generation reformers added important nuance to the specifics of Reformed theology, their general adherence to the formative doctrines of divine sovereignty, predestination, and human frailty accorded with the basics of Calvin's ideas. This lent Reformed Protestantism, at least in the sixteenth-century, a consistent theological foundation.[29] How did the supremacy of these doctrines, in conjunction with the political and religious turmoil of the sixteenth century, shape the development of Reformed demonology?

The Devil as God's Hangman

Though Calvin never wrote a treatise on demonology, discussions of Satan's relationship to God and man appear in many of his writings. The subservience of the devil to a totally sovereign God formed the cornerstone of his demonological ideas. Explaining this unequivocal master-servant relationship, Calvin wrote in 1539 that "Satan is the minister of God's wrath, and as it were the executioner, so he is armed against us, not through the connivance, but by the command of his judge."[30] Though Satan resisted divine orders, due to his desire to do all things contrary to God, he could not prevail. As Calvin explained, "with the bridle of his power God holds him [Satan] bound and restrained, he carries out only those things which have been divinely permitted to him;

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[29] On this point, see Richard Muller, "John Calvin and Later Calvinism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, eds. David V. N. Bagchi, David Curtis Steinmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 130-149, esp. 140. This relative level of consensus among Reformed Protestants would not survive the seventeenth century, however, when the increase in doctrinal disputes led to new schisms within Protestantism in Britain and on the Continent. See Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 293-423.

[30] Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul*, 77.

and so he obeys his Creator, whether he will or not, because he is compelled to yield him service whenever God impels him."[31]

In this vein of thought, Calvin fiercely rejected claims that the devil had agency independent of God. He considered it heretical to attribute any acts, even evil ones, to the devil's power. Pointing to the dualistic beliefs of Manichaeus as an example of this error, Calvin wrote that:

> …to God he attributed the origin of good things, but evil natures he referred to the devil. If this madness held our minds ensnared, God's glory in the creation of the universe would not abide with him…Now where is God's omnipotence, if such sovereignty is conceded to the devil that he carries out whatever he wishes, against God's will and resistance?[32]

In his catechism intended to "teache children the Christiane religion," which was published in Edinburgh in 1578, Calvin reiterated the relationship between God and the devil in a fictional conversation between a minister and a child. "What sayeth thou," the minister asked, "as touching the devils and wicked persons? Be they also subject to him [God]?" The proper response from the child was "albeit that God doth not guide them with his holy spirit, yet he doth bridill them in such sorte that they be not abill to stirre or more without his permission and appointment."[33] Even children, Calvin insisted, should know that the divine hand directed all the actions of the wicked.

Considering that God willed all of Satan's actions, Calvin and other reformers faced a particularly difficult challenge in explaining the existence of evil in the world.

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[31] *Institutes*, I.xiv.17.

[32] Calvin, *Institutes* I.xiv.3. Manichaeus, or Mani, was a third century prophet and theologian of Iranian origin whose religious views were governed by a rigid dualism between good and evil. He believed Satan operated independently and against God, a view which Calvin and other Reformed Protestants found particularly abhorrent.

[33] Calvin, *The catechisme or maner to teache children the Christiane religion* (Edinburgh, 1578).

Beginning with the origins of the devil, Calvin explained that though Satan was of God's making, the wickedness of the devil's nature "came not from his creation but from his perversion. For, whatever he has that is to be condemned he derived from his revolt and fall."[34] Created by God as angel, the devil invited his own ruin through greed and pride. Upon his fall from grace, Satan was made an instrument of God's wrath. The key point here, and one on which Catholics and Protestants agreed, is that God himself did not create the devil as innately and originally evil.

Calvin carefully asserted that God himself did not actually commit the evil deeds. This he explained using the metaphor of the sun shining on a rotting body:

> And whence, I ask you, comes the stench of a corpse, which is both putrefied and laid open by the heat of the sun? All men see that it is stirred up by the sun's rays; yet no one for this reason says the rays stink. Thus, since the matter and guilt of evil repose in a wicked man, what reason is there to think that God contracts any defilement, if he uses his service for his own purpose?[35]

Thus God was the orchestrator of evil but was in no way responsible for the actual doing of evil. "Though God employs the instrumentality of the wicked" he remained "pure from sin and from taint of every kind."[36] The problem of evil was not actually a problem for Calvin at all, for "all crimes, because subject to God's ordinance, become virtues."[37] This argument, though complicated and often pedantic, allowed Calvin to reiterate the formative elements of his demonic belief: Satan operated solely under the yoke of God,

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[34] Calvin, *Institutes.* I.xiv.16
[35] Ibid., I.xvii.5.
[36] Ibid., I.i.36
[37] Ibid., I.xvii. 3.

Satan was irredeemably evil in contrast to a totally good God, and the devil's activities—willed but not committed by God—carried out the divine and just plan.

The doctrine of predestination further directed how Calvin understood the devil's role in the world. Satan could lead the elect astray in the world, but he could never alter God's predestined plan. As Calvin put it, "all who are planted by the Spirit in the Lord Jesus Christ, are beyond the danger or the chance of condemnation, however burdened they may yet be with sins."[38] The relationship between predestination and Satan will be examined at length later in this chapter, but for present purposes it will suffice to keep in mind that Calvin believed that the boundaries between the reprobate and the elect could never be crossed, regardless of the devil's actions or desires.

At first glance, this concept of predestination would seem to mitigate concern for the devil, whose powers had been seemingly castrated by divine sovereignty. Yet Calvin adamantly argued that this was not so. The devil remained an obdurate, constant presence in the world. Citing I Peter 5:8, he wrote that the devil "goes about like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may devour, and he is furnished with a thousand crafts and heights to deceive."[39] Beza, too, presented the devil as "that great devouring lion, who has spoiled, torn, and swallowed so many Christians from the beginning of the world."[40] Though never able to alter salvation, Satan nonetheless strove to corrupt and hinder the faithful in their earthly lives. For this end, the devil employed a number of strategies enumerated by

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[38] Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul,* xxxiv.

[39] Calvin, *A harmonie vpon the the three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke* (London, 1584), 336. I Peter 5:8 was a passage used frequently by Scots throughout the early modern period to warn of the devil's indefatigability. It reads: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

[40] Beza, *Christian Meditations upon Eight Psalmes of the Prophet David* (London, 1582).

Calvin in his *Institutes*: "For he opposes the truth of God with falsehoods, he obscures the light with darkness, he entangles men's minds in errors, he stirs up hatred, he kindles contentions and combats, everything to the end that he may overturn God's kingdom and plunge men with himself into eternal death."[41]

Calvin did not write at length about the physical powers of the devil, such as his ability to move objects or transform himself into animals or objects. He did, however, specify that devils were not thoughts, but "actualities," which he defined as "minds or spirits endowed with sense perception and understanding."[42] He did not dwell at length on the topic, for in his view "this matter does not require discussion among those who have faith in the Lord's Word." For the godly, who experienced demonic assaults in their daily lives, Satan was clearly a reality. Calvin's only interest in including such a definition of demons in his Institutes was to "equip godly minds" against the delusion that demons might not exist, "lest any persons, entangled in error, while thinking themselves without an enemy, become more slack and heedless about resisting."[43] Beyond this brief discussion, Calvin had little to say about the mechanics of Satan and his demons.

Emphasis on the devil's internal, psychological prowess, however, permeated many of Calvin's works. Above all, he claimed that the greatest threat of Satan, who was "from the beginning a murderer…and a liar," was his ability to implant lies and doubts

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41 *Institutes*, I.xiv.15.
42 Ibid., I.xiv.19.
43 Ibid.

into the minds of all men.[44] Other Reformers echoed and elaborated upon this description of Satan's skills of deception. Beza, in his commentary on Psalm 102:8, explained the threat of demonic deception during prayer: "the devil at all times lies in wait, to seduce us, so does he, especially, at such times, seek to creep into our minds, to divert our thoughts elsewhere, that they may be polluted with many blemishes."[45] In accordance with predestination, the lies of Satan further corrupted the already doomed souls of the reprobate and attempted in vain to damage those of the faithful.[46]

Early theologians had also long identified the internal devices and delusions of Satan. As Aquinas explained in his *Summa theological,* the devil "always tempts in order to hurt by urging man to sin. In this sense it is said to be his proper office to tempt."[47] These Catholic thinkers, though certainly concerned with the devil's psychological prowess, often privileged Satan's ability to lead men and women into physical temptations of the flesh.[48] Conversely, Reformed Protestants, though they did not deny the devil other powers, focused almost exclusively on the internal threat of Satan's

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[44] Ibid., I.xiv.15-16. Here Calvin is quoting from John 8:44 "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it."

[45] Beza, *Christian Meditations upon Eight Psalmes of the Prophet David*.

[46] Calvin, *A harmonie vpon the the three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke,* 210-11.

[47] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, ed. David Bourke, 61 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I.114.2.

[48] On this point, see Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 40-65.

temptations as manifested in unchristian thoughts and doubts.[49] Catholics also emphasized that temptation could be overcome, while Protestants considered demonic temptation to be an intrinsic, inescapable part of a godly life. Because, according to Reformed theology, Satan could not hinder salvation, his primary weapon became the hindrance of reformation itself, through temptation and implantation of doubts in the minds of the reprobate and saved alike.

While the devil created these falsehoods and lies, Calvin maintained that it was man who was at fault for believing them: "If any man do object that this doth come to pass for the most part rather through error then malice: we may easily answer, that no man is subject to the deceits of Satan, save only so far forth as he prefers lies before the truth."[50] Here Calvin reiterated another key element of his theological outlook: post-lapsarian men and women— elect and reprobate alike—were fallen and underserving of God's grace. Demonic activity was predicated upon this depravity of mankind. Satan entered the minds of men and women because they were both spiritually corrupt and deserving of this divine trial.[51]

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[49] A number of studies on the devil in early modern England have established that Protestant Reformers emphasized temptation and subversion as being the greatest weapons of Satan. See Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England" *Journal of British Studies* 43 (2004): 173-205; Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000): 37-68; Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000) .

[50] Calvin, *A harmonie vpon the the three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke,* 130.

[51] Catholic theologians also attributed sins to the actions of men and women, though they focused much less on the innate depravity of humanity. Aquinas wrote that if "the human will be determined to an evil counsel, is directly due to the human will, and to the devil as persuading or offering the object of appetite." Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II:1:80.

More generally, the Calvinist worldview led to the easy demonization of certain heretical or socially disruptive groups, who were considered likely members of the reprobate and thus eternally separated by God from the elect. These men and women, damned from the beginning of time, were viewed as instruments of the devil's wickedness, bonded forever to Satan's will. Catholics, of course, received the bulk of this rhetoric of reprobation. Witches also served to test the faithful and provided evidence of the devil's God-given control over the fallen. Throughout Calvin's writings, he rarely mentions witches, choosing to focus rather on the danger of Satan himself than on his instruments in the world. Because of this, Calvin has generally been viewed as having little to say about witches and their actions.

There are, however, a few notable places in his writing were he does discuss witchcraft, either implicitly or explicitly. In 1555, for example, Calvin preached about superstitious practices and divination, citing these practices as against the Mosaic laws in Deuteronomy.[52] He believed that much of the devil's wickedness in the world was carried out by evildoers, those who became the children of Satan by turning their backs on God by denial of the true faith:

> when a person is impatient, persists in quarrelling to the point of despair, will no more be consoled, rejects all memory of God, and wishes that his name be forgotten; then Satan has an open door and comes to practise his illusions, and cannot be resisted. We have an excellent example of this in Saul…And what was the outcome? He went off after the witches.[53]

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[52] Stuart Clark, *Thinking With Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 460.

[53] Calvin, *Sermon cix sur le Dueteronomy* (1555). As quoted in Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 461.

Thus Calvin's comments on witches and witchcraft, though limited, coincided with his broader understanding of the devil's involvement in the world.[54] All evils such as witchcraft or Catholicism were manifestations of God's divine and righteous plan for the elect and reprobate alike.

Drawing from his basic conviction that man was irrevocably depraved, Calvin asserted that even the faithful could be led astray by the devil's deceits, despite their election, for "all the faithful who in this world are besprinkled only with a few drops by the Spirit; and indeed when they make the greatest proficiency, being endued with a considerable measure of it, they are still far off from perfection."[55] Previously an adherent to the Roman Catholic faith, Calvin must have felt that he too had been deceived by the devil's lies before "God by a sudden conversion subdued and brought my mind to a teachable frame…. having thus received some taste and knowledge of true godliness."[56] Ultimately, then, Satan's sole purpose was to lead men into sin and to doubt God's truth. The elect, even Calvin himself, could find themselves subject to the assaults of the devil and estrangement from God.

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[54] Calvin also wrote in 1555 that "Satan, whenever God loosens the chain by which he is bound, is able to bewitch unhappy men," another clear example of how Calvin's witch-beliefs coincided with his larger views on the devil and divine providence. See Calvin, *Commentaries on the Last Four Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, 4 vols., trans. and ed. C.W. Bingham, (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1950), 429. For more on Calvin's beliefs about witches, see Peter Jensen, "Calvin and Witchcraft," *Reformed Theological Review*, 34 (1975): 76-86 and John L. Teall, "*Witchcraft and Calvinism in Elizabethan England*: Divine Power and Human Agency," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 23 (1962): 21-36.

[55] Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, 308.

[56] Calvin, *Commentary on Psalms*, trans. Rev. James Anderson (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), xl.

Satan and the Elect

When Calvin wrote about Satan, he was often in the midst of addressing a crucial question: What should a godly life look like? He presented this ideal life in stridently military terms, as a battle in which God and his elect were irreconcilably pitted against Satan and the reprobate. Though salvation was not at stake, the state of the Reformation was, and the elect assumed responsibility for constantly resisting the devil and all allied with him. Election by no means lent itself to a life of spiritual leisure. Calvin averred that devil targeted the most pious, "for 'tis well known, that the more vigorously any one resists him, the more keenly he presses his attacks. For Satan in some sort trifles where he is not seriously opposed, but exerts all his strength against those who resist him: and again he is never weary with fighting, but, if conquered in one engagement, immediately commences another."[57] According to Calvin's worldview, warfare against Satan ought to define and dominate a Christian life: "The fact that the devil is everywhere called God's adversary and ours also ought to fire us to an unceasing struggle against him….If we are minded to affirm Christ's Kingdom as we ought, we must wage irreconcilable war against him who is plotting its ruin."[58]

The words of the bible provided the ultimate proof of this war, for "Scripture makes known that there are not one, not two, nor a few foes, but great armies, which

[57] Calvin, *Calvin's commentary on the epistle of James* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers and Co., 1797), **82.**
[58] Calvin, *Institutes*, I.xiv.15

wage war against us."[59] Calvin portrayed this war in the *Institutes* as daunting and exhausting, but necessary:

> Our struggle is not with flesh and blood, but with the princes of the air, with the powers of darkness, and spiritual wickedness... We have been forewarned that an enemy relentlessly threatens us, an enemy who is the very embodiment of rash boldness, or military prowess, of crafty wiles, or untiring zeal and haste, of every conceivable weapon and of skill in the science of warfare. We must, then, bend out every effort to this goal: that we should not let ourselves be overwhelmed by carelessness or faintheartedness, but on the contrary with courage rekindled stand our ground in combat. Since this military service ends only at death, let us urge ourselves to perseverance.[60]

Such militaristic imagery abounded in Calvin's writings, reinforcing the intrinsically Augustinian idea of the eternal war between the kingdoms of good and evil.

One might argue that Protestantism, through its removal of interceding rituals and objects, left its adherents totally exposed and vulnerable to demonic assaults. This was not so. Protestant Reformers maintained that scripture would forearm the elect against the adversary, for in the words of the bible they would find a guarantee of their eventual triumph. Despite the danger of the devil's presence in the world, Calvin maintained that the elect would ultimately triumph:

> because that promise to crush Satan's head [Gen.3:15] pertains to Christ and all his members in common, I deny that believers can ever be conquered or overwhelmed by hum. Often, indeed, they are distressed, but not so deprived of life as not to recover; they fall under violent bows, but afterward they are raised up; they are wounded, but not fatally; in short, they so toil throughout life that at the last they obtain the victory.[61]

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[59] Ibid., I.xiv.14
[60] Ibid., I.xiv.13
[61] Ibid., I.xiv.18.

This assurance of victory did not negate, however, the necessity of combat against Satan. The struggle against the devil would be won by the faithful *only* in death; until then, the presence of the devil in their earthly lives would remain a constant affliction against which they must battle.

The concepts of the sovereignty of God and double predestination, the two foundational components of Reformed theology, raise a perplexing yet crucial question about the devil's role in the world: If the Satan could never alter salvation, then how does one explain the intense preoccupation with demonic temptation and subversion that plagued the Reformed Protestant areas such as Scotland, Puritan New England, or even Geneva? If good would ultimately triumph over evil, then why should the elect fear the activities of Satan? This can explained, at least in part, by the pervasive desire among Reformed Protestants to purify themselves and the world around them, largely through battle with Satan and his legions. The godly, having faith as a sign of their election, would be concerned with the devil's interaction in the world because it was their duty as the elect to combat Satan, and because earthly evils and trials reflected God's anger towards a sinful world. They would not fear for their own souls, but rather God's wrath, which brought suffering upon the elect as part of their salvation process. The Calvinist attitude towards the devil, then, would be one of dutiful and intense concern for the devil's involvement in the world as a product of God's awful vengeance, rather than the fear of a devil who could actually ruin the souls of man.

Another response to these questions lies in the fact that Reformed theology taught that God alone knew who was saved and who was damned. This knowledge was too

complex and too sacred for humankind to comprehend, for "when predestination is discussed, as man cannot restrain himself within due limits, he immediately, through his rashness, plunges himself, as it were, into the depth of the sea."[62] Though some assurance of faith could be gained through a conversion experience, the fact that election was ultimately unknowable rendered the pursuit of godliness a truly insecure experience. As we shall see in upcoming chapters, the inability to know— much less control—one's own fate proved psychologically damaging for an anxious community of the would-be elect.

It was through this insecurity of salvation that belief in Satan found a powerful foothold in the Reformed Protestant world. Because it was understood that the devil most aggressively pursued the elect, active resistance against Satan was viewed as a demonstration of one's predetermined godliness. Though actions in life were irrelevant to salvation, it was understood that a man or woman of faith would have been compelled to act, on God's behalf, against the devil. This sense of Christian duty pervaded Calvin's writings, for those "that are minded to affirm Christ's kingdom as we ought, we must wage irreconcilable war against him who is trying to extinguish it."[63] For Calvin, the threat posed by the devil did not lie in the end of salvation, but rather in the means of salvation. The trials of life and the suffering enacted upon humans by the devil, Calvin explained, were an intrinsic part, and indeed a perceivable sign, of the salvation of the elect: "The certainty of eternal life cannot be intercepted or disturbed by present evils, to

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62 Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans,* 353.
63 Calvin, *Institutes,* I.xiv.15.

which we are subject in this life; but that, on the contrary, our salvation is promoted by such trials, and that the value of it, when compared with our present miseries, renders them as nothing."[64] Thus warring with the devil constituted an inescapable part of the godly life and could serve as a troubling but much desired sign of one's election.

Reformed versus Catholic Demonology

In his seminal work on demonology and witch-belief, *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Stuart Clark asserts that "if we look at the fundamental ingredients of demonology…there does seem to be little to distinguish the Protestant from Catholic demonology."[65] In many respects, Clark is correct. Both Catholics and Protestants believed the devil was subservient to a sovereign god, the father of all lies, driven by desire for sinning, and a master deceiver. Both Catholics and Protestants firmly denounced the notion that God could be the author of evil, and both identified man and women rather than Satan as responsible for their sins. The specifics of Reformed theology, however, produced a demonology that was unique to the Reformed tradition.

The absolute adherence to the sovereignty of God differentiated Calvin's demonic beliefs, albeit subtly, from those of many late medieval theologians. In all cases, his point of departure was the indelible will of God. As Euan Cameron argued in his recent work on superstition in Europe, "Calvin struck away the conventional prop of medieval demonology, the notion of 'divine permission' as the space within which demonic forces

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64 Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul*, xxxiv.
65 Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 527.

could do harm. For Calvin, behind every action of Satan lay the controlling hand of an ultimately benign but also all-sovereign God."[66] Unlike his medieval predecessors, Calvin believed that men and women should remain in awe of divine decree, and not probe too deeply into God's use of demons and spirits.[67] This is why, in large part, Calvin never felt inclined to write at length on what Stuart Clark has termed the "mechanics of demonism."[68]

Catholic demonologists also tempered their depictions of the devil with assertions of the sovereignty of God. The German inquisitor and demonologist Henrich Kramer reminded readers at the beginning of the *Malleus maleficarum* that "when they are permitted by God, evil spirits have power over physical objects and over people's imaginative faculties."[69] The phrase "with the permission of God," which recurs throughout the *Malleus*, is key here. [70] In order to create a sustainable theodicy, late medieval Catholic theologians, in the tradition of Thomas Aquinas, drew a distinction between divine permission and divine will. As God could not be the author of any evil,

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[66] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 214-5. However, Cameron sees this as a downgrade in the devil's power, relegating the devil into "the area of metaphor and symbol." As will be evident later in this chapter, as in future chapters, I would argue that while this consolidation of the devil's power into the hands of God certainly occurred, this did not diminish the concern for demonic activity, especially not in the context of apocalypticism.

[67] Christina J. Ross, "Scottish Demonology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Its Theological Background," (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1962), 73.

[68] Clark, "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition and Society", in B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen, eds, *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 47.

[69] Henrich Kramer, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 44.

[70] Sydney Anglo has gone so far as to say that in the Malleus, the devil, with divine permission seemed to have been given "*carte blanche* in terrestrial affairs." See Anglo, "Evident Authority and Authoritative Evidence: The Malleus Maleficarum" in *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, ed. Sydney Anglo (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 15.

they argued that the misfortunes and wickedness in the world were a product of his passive permission rather than is active will.[71] Aquinas and other late medieval theologians had thus increasingly placed responsibility for the suffering in the world on the devil's figurative shoulders.[72]

Permission, though, was not enough for Reformed Protestants. Calvin, who derived much of his theology from Augustine, referred to the devil being chained to hell, able to exert his influence in the world only "whenever God loosens the chain by which he is bound."[73] Whereas writers like Kramer asserted that God gives the devil permission to enact his evil upon the world, Calvin insisted that God not only gives the devil the ability to act, but wills him to do so. He eschewed those who, like previous Catholic theologians, "babble and talk absurdly who, in place of God's providence, substitute bare permission— as if God sat in a watch-tower awaiting chance events, and his judgments thus depended upon human will."[74] The extremity of Calvin's belief in the sovereignty of God thus placed different constraints on the devil's power from those of his predecessors.

The most obvious divergence between Reformed and Catholic demonology accordingly stems from the concept of double predestination. Even Augustine, who certainly believed God had predestined salvation, was less explicit about the belief that

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[71] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft* , 72-74.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Calvin. *Commentaries on the Last Four Books of Moses*, 429.
[74] Calvin, *Institutes* I.xviii.1

God had actively condemned some to hell than Calvin.[75] Luther also indicated in his writings that certain men would be saved by God's grace, but unlike Calvin, he did not state that the majority of men were damned before their creation.[76] In the context of predestination—of both salvation and damnation—the devil's efforts were, in the end, rendered useless. Because of his belief in the final futility of the devil's actions, Calvin's warnings of the peril caused by the devil must be viewed in a different light from those of earlier demonologists, even if the language used by both confessions was similar.[77] For Calvin, the devil in and of himself was not a powerful entity to be feared or resisted; the true threat of Satan lay in the wrath of God against the depravity of human nature.

What made Reformed theology and the attending demonology both appealing and malleable for various groups across Europe? Since the later Middle Ages, Satan had loomed large in the Christian imagination as the terrible figure of perdition and evil. The devil had always been understood as a creation of God, and medieval theologians were plagued by the question of how to reconcile God's divine love with the powerful wickedness of his own creation. Reformed theodicy side-stepped this question by

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[75] See Augustine, *A Treatise on the Predestination of the Saints* (c.428). Scholars have debated whether or not Augustine taught an explicit form of double predestination. Based on this treatise, it seems that Augustine did espouse some form of double predestination, though he never claimed that God in an active way had condemned man to hell: "Therefore the mercy is past finding out by which He has mercy on whom He will, no merits of his own preceding; and the truth is unsearchable by which He hardeneth whom He will, even although his merits may have preceded, but merits for the most part common to him with the man on whom He has mercy. As of two twins, of which one is taken and the other left, the end is unequal, while the deserts are common, yet in these the one is in such wise delivered by God's great goodness, that the other is condemned by no injustice of God's. For is there unrighteousness with God? Away with the thought!" From *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, MO: William B. Eerdermans, 1886-1890), 535.

[76] See Martin Luther, "On the Bondage of the Human Will (1525)" eds. J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnson (Old Tappan, N.J.: Revell, 1957); See also Robert Kolb, "Confessional Lutheran Theology", in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*,74.

[77] See note 21 in the Introduction, above, for further discussion of this point.

explaining that, as all events were a component of God's righteous plan, even truly evil occurrences were directed by God's morally just purposes. For those living in the early modern world, amidst religious war, famine, witch hunts, demonic possession, and other sufferings, the understanding of God's morally just vengeance would have provided an assurance of a divine and righteous plan.

More complicated is the question of why many accepted the doctrine of predestination and the explanation it provided for the devil's worldly presence. The concept of election promoted, above all, an intense concern with one's predetermined fate and the despairing understanding that no good works could alter the fact that most were condemned to hell. While these fears took hold of many, Calvin's assurance of the eventual victory of the faithful eased the minds of the more confidently devout. Just as God willed the Satan to torment Job as part of his salvation process, early modern Reformed Protestants could reason that demonically-induced hardships and temptations indicated their election. Belief in the sovereignty of God and double predestination explained the purpose of the reprobate in the world as instruments of the devil and validated that the suffering of the elect was an integral part of the salvation process. These foundations of Reformed demonology found a particularly receptive audience in Scotland, where the Reformation would soon make the Scottish nation a bulwark of Reformed Protestantism for the remainder of the early modern period and long after.

Reforming the Devil in Scotland

A discussion of the introduction of Reformed Protestantism into Scotland begins with the person of John Knox, considered by many to be the spiritual father of the

Scottish Reformation.[78] Knox spent the majority of the 1550's in exile from Scotland for his religious convictions, traveling between England, France, and Geneva. During these years, his interactions with John Calvin and his growing disdain for the Catholic leadership in Scotland further buttressed his commitment to the Reformed Protestant theology and cause. In 1559, he returned home to Scotland. With militaristic zeal and the aid of fellow reformers, including David Lindsay, John Spottiswoode, John Row, and John Willock, Knox sought to implement the Reformed theology that continues to define the Scottish kirk. How did this introduction of Protestantism reshape demonic belief in Scotland in the generation after 1560? How were the demonological ideas of Calvin, predicted upon the sovereignty of God, adopted, espoused, and adapted by Scottish reformers?

Within a year of Knox's return to Scotland, the Reformation was well under way, aided by the death of Catholic Mary of Guise. In August of 1560, Knox and other kirk ministers (known collectively as "the Six Johns") drew up *The Scots Confession of the*

[78] Knox, of course, did not act alone in bringing the Reformation to Scotland, though he did exercise the greatest leadership over the emerging Reformed churches. In particular, much credit should be given to John Willock, who acted alongside Knox in militantly calling for the Reformation of the kirk. However, Willock never published anything, whereas Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland has been an essential source for accounts of the period. See Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 157 on this point. Because of his publications and bold persona, Knox has long been one of the most studied figures in Scottish history. For the most comprehensive collection of his works, see John Knox, *Works*, 6 vols, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1864-64). For a few of the many secondary works on Knox, see James Kirk, "The Scottish Reformation and the Reign of James VI: A Select Critical Biography," *RSCHS*, 23 (1987); Stuart Lamont, *The Swordbearer: John Knox and the European Reformation* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991); Roger A. Mason, *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Aldershot: Ashgate 1998); Richard Kyle, "John Knox's Concept of Divine Providence and its Influence on his Thought," *Albion* 18 (1986): 395-410; Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox* (Grand Rapids, MI: William. B. Eerdmans, 1980); Richard Kyle, *The Mind of John Knox* (Coronado: Coronado Press, 1984); W. Stanford Reid, *Trumpeter of God: A Biography of John Knox* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1974).

Faith.[79] After its quick approval by the Scottish Parliament, the break with Rome by the kirk was official, though the confessional allegiance of the state remained in flux for the next few decades.[80] From the outset, militant Protestantism characterized post-Reformation demonic belief in Scotland. This is exemplified by the *Scots Confession*, which was both a declaration of Scotland's embrace of Reformed Protestantism and an exposition of the formative beliefs of the nascent reformed Scottish kirk. [81] The *Scots Confession* stated that the members of the kirk were compelled by their election to engage in a lifelong battle against the devil and their own corruptions, which operated in tandem:

> Thence comes that continual battle which is between the flesh and Spirit in God's children, while the flesh and the natural man, being corrupt, lust for things pleasant and delightful to themselves, are envious in adversity and proud in prosperity, and every moment prone and ready to offend the majesty of God….Other men do not share this conflict since they do not have God's Spirit, but they readily follow and obey sin and feel no regrets, since they act as the devil and their corrupt nature urge. But the sons of God fight against sin; sob and mourn when they find themselves tempted to do evil; and, if they fall, rise again with earnest and unfeigned repentance.

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[79] Philip Benedict has contended that though it was certainly Reformed in character, the Scots Confession of Faith was not distinctly Calvinist. He states that it "sidestepped" the issue of predestination and emphasized ecclesiastical discipline in the tradition of Bucer rather than Calvin. However, various sections on election and good works implicitly, if not explicitly, discussed the issue of predestination, even if it was not the centerpiece of the Confession. Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 162.

[80] The battle to implement Reformed theology throughout Scotland continued to rage during the Catholic reign of Mary Queen of Scots, who was forced to abdicate the throne in 1567. Her son, the future king James VI and I of Scotland, was only thirteen months old, and saw four different regents reign during his minority. It was not until the late 1580's, when the staunchly Calvinist James VI, began to assert his authority that some political and religious stability was reached. On the relationship between Knox and Mary Queen of Scots, see Jenny Wormald, "Godly Reformer, Godless Monarch: John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots," in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 220-241. On the turmoil of the relationship between kirk and state through in the first generation after the Reformation, see Jane Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587***.**

[81] The Scots Confession served for almost two centuries as the doctrinal subordinate standard of the Scottish kirk, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, until it was superseded by the Westminster Confession in 1647. The term "subordinate standard" refers to the doctrinal standard of the Presbyterian Church, second and subordinate to the bible.

> They do these things, not by their own power, but by the power of the Lord Jesus, apart from whom they can do nothing.[82]

The Scots Confession was unique among other Reformed Confessions in the extent to which it depicted the kirk as engaged in an ongoing, apocalyptic battle against the devil.[83] Not just a passive declaration of theological convictions, the Scots Confession comprised "a manifesto, a zealous proclamation, a prophetic call to action," driven by a vision of demonic struggle.[84]

Behind the Scots Confession lay the person and perspective of Knox, whose identity and theology was bound up in the struggle against Satan, who lay behind all obstacles to Reformation. Many of Knox's demonological ideas derived from the basics of Reformed theology articulated by Calvin. Most important were the concepts of divine immutability and sovereignty. These concepts endowed Knox with an unflinching faith in the providence of God and the eventual victory of the faithful, which allowed him to pursue the reformation of religion with uncompromising intensity.[85] This mindset, combined with the specific political and religious situation of Scotland, lent a notable

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82 *Scots Confession*, 1560.

83 Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 162.

84 Hazlett, "Scots Confession," 295.

85 Richard Kyle, "John Knox's Concept of Divine Providence," esp. 395-397. As Kyle rightly points out, though Knox and Calvin differed on a number of theological issues, most notably apocalyptic thought and resistance to political authority, there was a "striking resemblance" between their concepts of divine providence, defined as "God's permanent and universal activity in the world." The concept of divine providence derived from Knox's (and Calvin's) concept of God, which revolved around divine immutability and sovereignty. Kyle defines divine immutability as "that perfection of God by which he is devoid of all change, not only in his being, but in his perfections, and in his purposes and promises" and divine sovereignty as God's "absolute authority over the hosts of heaven and the inhabitants of earth, that he upholds all things in his mighty power, and he determines the ends which they are destined to serve." These Knoxian beliefs were, as demonstrated above, clearly foundational to Calvin's theology. See also Richard Kyle, "The Divine Attributes in John Knox's Concept of God," *Westminster Theological Journal*, 48 (1986): 161-172.

immediacy and militancy to his demonic beliefs. While Calvin's devil was a necessary instrument of God's divine plan, Satan was for Knox a more discernible and immediate foe in his quest to reform Scotland.[86]

Like Calvin, in his warnings about the devil to the godly, Knox always asserted the power of God over the devil's actions:

> to what miserie were we exposed, if we should be persuaded, that sathan and the wicked might or could do any thing, otherwiese then God hath appointed… prosperitie and aduersitie, rayn, wyndes, hale, frost, fare wether, aboundance, hunger, warre, or peace, [are] the workes of God, and that the creatures which be the inferior causes, are oneli instrumetes which he hath in redines to execute his will, which he so vseth at his pleasure….[87]

Moreover, Knox noted "that not onlie he thus vseth his insensible creatures, that by them he worketh his will, but also men them selves, yea and also devilles, insomuch that sathan and wicked men are executers of gods will."[88] Calvin had actually written to Knox about this divine providence, in a 1561 letter discussing the demonically inspired opposition facing the Scottish Reformers. In attempting to calm Knox's fervor about recent struggles, Calvin reassured him that "the power of God is the more conspicuously displayed in this, that no attacks either of Satan or of the ungodly have hitherto prevented you from advancing with triumphant consistency in the right course….unless He who is superior to all the world had held you out from heaven a helping hand."[89] Both Calvin

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[86] See Julian Goodare, "John Knox on Demonology and Witchcraft," in *Archive for Reformation History* 96 (2005): 221-245.

[87] Knox, *An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and aduersarie to Gods eternal predestination* (Edinburgh, 1560).

[88] Ibid.

[89] Calvin, *Letters,* 4 vols., ed. David Constable *(*Edinburgh: Thomas *Constable* and Co., 1855), iv.184.

and Knox took great comfort in the knowledge that the actions of Satan and the reprobate were part of God's immutable plan.

Discussions of the relationship between the power of the devil and the will of God found expression in the works of other Scottish reformers who, like Knox, constructed their demonological ideas around the principle of divine sovereignty. In 1581, minister John Craig published a summary of the ideas from Calvin's Catechism, intended "for the greater ease of the commoune people and children."[90] After a series of questions and answers detailing the creation of man and the sovereignty of God, Craig posed the question of "who ruleth Sathan and all his instruments?" The answer, "our God also, by his almighty power and providence," mirrored that found in Calvin's own catechism for children published in Edinburgh three years prior.

The confinement of the devil's powers to the yoke of God by no means undermined the threat of Satan and the necessity of combat. In a world torn between the forces of good and evil, perpetual warfare was a necessary fact of life. As Knox stated in a sermon delivered in Edinburgh in 1565, "there is two heads and captaines that rule upon the whole worlde, to wit, Jesus Christ, the Prince of justice and peace, & Sathan, called the Prince of the worlde, so are they but two armies, that hath continued battaile from the beginning, and shall fight unto the ende."[91] This Knoxian worldview, which infused all of his works with an intense militarism, was unflinchingly dichotomous. Future generations of Scottish Protestants would structure their ideas around the same

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[90] John Craig, *A shorte summe of the whole catechisme, wherein the question is proponed and answered in few wordes, for the greater ease of the commoune people and children* (Edinburgh, 1581).

[91] Knox, *A sermon preached by Iohn Knox minister of Christ Iesus in the publique audience of the Church of Edenbrough* (Edinburgh, 1566).

uncompromising militarism and dualism that, in effect, made discussions of Satan intrinsic to discussions of God.[92]

No doubt influenced by his radicalization during the violent Marian restoration in England, Knox's combativeness infused his demonic belief.[93] This was a two way-street, of course, as his demonic belief reflected a polarized worldview and informed his militant desire to combat evil in all its forms. In his *Fort for the Afflicted,* published in 1580 to comfort for the godly, he explained that

> from the service of the Devil and sin, hee hath annointed us Priestes and Kings… hee hath given you courage and boldnesse to fight against more cruel, more suttle more dangerous, and against enemies that be more nigh unto you, then either was the Lyon, the Beare or Goliah to Dauid… yea, against some of your natural friendes, which appeare to professe Christ with you, and in that part the battel is the more vehement.[94]

Knox believed that the elect had an inescapable duty to fight for God against Satan's forces. Godliness required not only the abnegation of sin, but also active combat against the sins of others.[95]

Other Scottish reformers emphasized the unyielding duty of the godly against Satan. David Fergusson, the famed minister of Dumferline, encouraged Scots to be ever wary of their vigilant adversary:

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[92] On this point, see Roger A. Mason, "Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 76 (1997), 58.

[93] Jane Dawson has pointed out that Christopher Goodman, who was part of the English exile congregation in Geneva and a very close friend of Knox, greatly influenced Knox's ideas about political radicalism and militancy for the sake of reformation. See Dawson, "Trumpeting Resistance: Christopher Goodman and John Knox," in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (New York: Ashgate, 1998).

[94] Knox, *A fort for the afflicted VVherin are ministred many notable & excellent remedies against the stormes of tribulation* (Edinburgh, 1580).

[95] On this point, see Goodare, "John Knox on Demonology and Witchcraft," 225.

> Ye knowe planely if that ye loke ouer the Scripture with humilitie the slight and desait of Sathan (Christes and all Christianes enimies) for to misreule and disturb the trew Kirk and his furious interpryses…Take head therfore I adiure you welbeloued and Christiane brethren, that ye be not Seduced with his subteltie and craftiness.[96]

Though election protected the true godly from the experience of hell, they were nonetheless subject to and compelled to resist the earthly onslaughts of Satan. Repeating the scriptural language found in Calvin and Knox, he stressed that awareness was the first step in demonic combat: "the Apostle Peter hath moste carefully warned us, of Sathans might and fury, not forgetting also to instruct us how to withstand him, in these words: Be sober and watche for your adversarie, the Devil, as a roaring lyon, walketh aboute seeking whome he may devour..."[97]

The Reformed emphasis on the internal assaults of Satan, predicated on innate human weakness, shaped the admonitions of sixteenth-century divines about man's unyielding adversary. Robert Bruce's series of 1589 sermons on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper detailed man's internal corruptions and temptatons, which were like a "canker and venom quhilk the devil hath spued into our hearts."[98] He explained that the "devill is so craftie, in this point, that he erects ever ane idol or uther in our saul; and sometimes under the shew of vertue, quhilkof all is maist dangerous."[99] In a sermon delivered in 1591, Bruce described how demonic temptation could manifest itself in a

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[96] David Fergusson, *Ane answer to ane epistle written by Renat Benedict* (Edinburgh, 1563).

[97] Ibid. Passage is from the King James Version, 1 Peter 5:8: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." This description of Satan as a roaring lion appears frequently in Reformed Scottish sermons. See, for example, Adv. MS 5.2.6; MS 2206; John Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons* (Glasgow, 1771).

[98] Ibid.

[99] Robert Bruce, *Sermons* ed. by William Cunninghan (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 354.

variety of tangible and intangible ways, all of which collaborated with the preexisting corruption of man: "For the devil, either he oppones himself openly, that by thy outward sense thou may take him up; or else, coverdly, he insinuates himself in our affections by reason of the corruption that is in us, he insinuates himself in our perturbations, and in all the rest of the faculties of our soul."[100]

James Melville wrote near the close of the century, in 1597, that "Sathan seeks by distrust and infidelity, grieuously to afflict & deiect the minds of Gods children."[101] In lyrical verse, he then described the earthly plight of man against demonic assaults:

> When I behold, These Montaines cold, Can I be bold
> To take my journey through this wilderness
> Wherein dois stand, on either hand, a bludy band
> To cut one off, with cruell craftines:
> Here subtill Sathans slight, dois me assaill,
> There his proud warldly might, thinks to prevaill:
> In every place, with pleasant face,
> The snares of sinne besets me round about,
> With poyson sweit, to slay the spreit·
> Conspyrit all to take my life but doubt.[102]

Telling is the fact that this was part of Melville's interpretation of the Psalm 121, which doesn't actually mention the devil, but reads "the Lord shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul." Evil, for Melville and many in post-Reformation Scotland, was made manifest in the ubiquitous figure of Satan.

Early Scottish reformers sought to historically and scripturally these incessant struggles against the devil. Increasingly, they conceived of themselves and of the Scottish

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[100] Ibid., 389.
[101] James Melville, *Ane fruitful and comfortable exhortatioun anent death* (Edinburgh, 1597).
[102] Ibid.

nation as the New Israel and their kirk as God's chosen covenant. As Michael Lynch explains, it was in these early years that "the myth of the perfection of the Scottish kirk was born."[103] From this myth emerged a Scottish identity inextricably bound up with Reformed Protestantism, self-identification as the chosen, and the battle with Satan. As the *Scots Confession* stated, "Satan has labored from the beginning to adorn his pestilent synagogue with the title of the Kirk of God, and has incited cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true Kirk and its members."[104] Its authors went on to aver that only in death could the elect finally retire from their inherited battle: "The chosen departed are in peace, and rest from their labors…for they are delivered from all fear and torment, and all the temptations to which we and all God's chosen are subject in this life, and because of which we are called the Kirk militant."[105]

This militant ardor of Knox and other reformers stemmed from their involvement in a perceived battle against the devil's army, specifically in the form of the Catholic Church. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, fears over Scotland's lapsing back into popery ran rampant, especially in response to the monarchical turmoil caused by Mary Queen of Scots. This informed discussions of the devil among Scottish reformers, who cited Catholics as Satan's instruments *par excellence*. They often referred to the Catholic Church as the "synagogue of Satan." [106] Interestingly, this was the same language later used in Scotland to describe many witches assemblies. The Mass itself became viewed as

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[103] Michael Lynch, "Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638," 232.
[104] *Scots Confession.*
[105] Ibid.
[106] Fergusson, *Ane Answer*.

a diabolical act akin to the tacit pact with Satan made by witches, for through Mass Catholics voluntarily committed themselves to the devil. As Knox wrote in his *Godly Letter to the Faithful in London* of 1554, "God may not abyd that our bodies serve the devill in joyning ourselves with ydolatrie."[107] Knox saw himself as a prophet of sorts issuing a call to arms against the devil broadly and Catholics specifically, calling them "pestilent papists…sons of the Devil."[108] Any and all actions of the Catholic Church were viewed as part of Satan's grand attempt to destroy the rebuilding of Zion and establishment of the true religion in Scotland and beyond.

When suffering the assaults of Satan and his minions—Catholics and others—early reformers, like Calvin before them, reminded their listeners and readers that true believers would find eventual victory despite Satan's aims to the contrary. As Fergusson averred, "Sathan can not take Christes name from you but yet be war I pray you, and I warne you of charitie for your weill and Saluation, that he pluk not Christe him self from you."[109] Knox asserted in his writings that in order to endure their present afflictions, the godly must hold fast to the knowledge that in the end they would prevail:

> And thus the onely goodnesse of God remaineth in all stormes, the sure foundation to the afflicted. Against which the Devil is never able to prevaile. The knowledge of this is so necessarie to the afflicted conscience, that without the same, it is verie harde to withstande the assaultes of the aduersarie.[110]

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[107] Knox, *Works*, iii.196-7.

[108] As quoted in Goodare, "Knox on Demonology," 227; for a discussion of the ways in which Knox's identity was bound up in his battle against the Catholics, see Kyle, *The Mind of John Knox*.

[109] Fergusson, *Ane answer*.

[110] Ibid.

Robert Bruce echoed this promise of victory in the face of assaults from without and within, stating that "being sanctified, in despite of the divell and of the corruption that is in us, this faith shall never perish!"[111] In trying times against the ultimate adversary, predestined election could provide reassurance, at least for the steadfast in their faith.

The demonic beliefs of early Scottish reformers found popular expression in an anonymous book of prayers and meditations published in Edinburgh in 1591. Written in straightforward, accessible language, this collection contained prayers addressing issues as diverse as the weather, sickness, hope, and despair. It included an extended prayer "against the temptations of Sathan," intended to communicate Reformed demonological ideas to a newly Protestant audience. This prayer commenced with a call to God to "protect and strengthen us weake and terrible ones, against the tentations of Sathan, which is the worne and extreme enemy to mans salvation, a slanderer and our accuser, that greate Dragon, the olde serpent, which is called the Divell."[112] Consistent with Protestant demonology, it cited the "unspeakable subtiltie" of Satan who "layed snares to entrap our soules" and hoped to cast Christians "headlong into extreme desperation."[113] Highlighting the ubiquity of Satan, the anonymous author detailed how "night and day, whether we sleepe or wake, hee is about us, and with foaming mouth and open jawes." As Calvin had insisted in his work, man's depravity left him completely reliant on God for deliverance from demonic assaults: "no ayde, prudence, or pollicie is in our nature

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111 Bruce, *Sermons*, 151.

112 Anon., *The sacrifice of a Christian soule conteining godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes; drawne out of the pure fountaines of the sacred Scriptures* (Edinburgh, 1591), 211.

113 Ibid., 211-213.

against so strong and subtill an enemie. Behold, our nature is accursed and uncleane, our fleshe is weake, our life transitorie."[114] Knox, too, insisted that despite the absolute providence of God, humans were indeed responsible for their own sins and for the choice to be led astray by Satan, who God had sent as a corrupter and instigator of those sins.[115] The prayer closed with a request that God aide spiritually feeble humans in their struggles against Satan and invoked the militancy that had become a mainstay of Scottish religious thought: "give us thy whole armoire that like right soldiers wee may resist the evill day and vanquish our Enemie."[116]

By the last decade of the sixteenth-century, Reformed demonological ideas appeared in both print and from the pulpit, thanks to the publication of Calvin's works and the reforming zeal of Scottish divines. Yet few Scots had greater influence in codifying Scottish demonic belief than the king himself, James VI and I, who composed the first and only demonological treatise written by a European monarch. When James took the Scottish throne in 1567, only one year old, he inherited this developing Reformation kirk.[117] During his reign as king (he took control of his government in 1581), James often opposed members of the Scottish kirk who advocated a Presbyterian form of church governance that threatened the power of the monarch. He was wary of the extremism espoused by Knox, but was nonetheless a staunch Reformed Protestant.

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[114] Ibid., 214.

[115] Kyle, "John Knox's Concept of Divine Providence," 401.

[116] Anon., *The sacrifice of a Christian soule,* 216.

[117] On the life of James VI and I, see Pauline Croft, *King James* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); Roger Lockyer, *James VI and I,* (New York: Longman, 1998); Maurice Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

Throughout his reign, James viewed himself as engaged in a lifelong struggle against Satan that was bound up in his identity as a godly monarch.[118]

Though *Daemonologie* was, of James's many writings, the most obviously concerned with Satan, his ideas about the devil are evident in a number of his earlier works. In a collection of essays and poems published in 1584, when James was still a teen, he wrote of the snares of "crafty Sathan, who can seame /An Angell of light, to witch vs in our dreame"[119] In a 1589 meditation on the Book of Kings, he historically contextualized the demonic afflictions faced by the chosen, explain that "we find plainlie in the scriptures that no sooner God choosit himself Israel to be his pepill, but as soone, and ever thairafter as long as they remained his, the Devill so envied their prosperitie" that he sent his instruments into the world "to trouble and weir [work] against them."[120] Like Calvin, Knox, and others before him, James emphasized the unrelenting nature of the devil against the elect— a group to which he confidently felt he belonged.

In 1590, his demonic belief would turn into experiential reality, as James found himself the target of a group of witches at North Berwick. After treacherous storms in the North Sea threatened the health of James and his new bride, Anne of Denmark, he became convinced that a group of women already facing witchcraft charges in East Lothian had conspired with Satan against him. After a series of trials in the 1590's, James

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[118] See a further discussion of the relationship between James and the devil in Chapter Six, below.

[119] James VI and I, *The essayes of a prentise, in the diuine art of poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584).

[120] James VI and I, *Ane meditatioun vpon the xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, and xxix verses of the XV chapt. of the first buke of the Chronicles of the Kingis* (Edinburgh, 1589).

composed *Daemonologie*, a treatise concerning the existence of witches in Scotland.[121] Published in 1597, *Daemonologie* focused extensively on the devil's central role in witchcraft and laid the demonic foundation for all future witch-hunting in Scotland, discussed at length in Chapter Five below.[122] For James, the clearest manifestation of the increasing involvement of the devil in the world was "the fearefull aboundinge at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaues of the Deuill, the Witches or enchaunters."[123] Throughout *Daemonologie*, he focused on exploring and explaining the pact formed between Satan and the witch. He described the demonic pact in detail, including some of the elements that would become formative to the Scottish definition of witchcraft: "[Satan] first perswades them [the witches] to addict themselues to his seruice: which being easely obteined, he then discouers what he is vnto them: makes them to renunce their God and *Baptisme* directlie, and giues them his marke vpon some secreit place of their bodie, which remaines soare vnhealed."[124] James' obsession with the demonic pact reflected the centrality of the covenant to Reformed Scottish religiosity; the pact with Satan was an inversion of the covenant with God, the very foundation of both individual and communal faith in early modern Scotland.

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121 See Chapter Five, below. For an analysis of the documents surrounding the witch-hunts of the 1590's, see Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000); Brian Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

122 See Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 42.

123 James VI and I, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597), xi. Here I have used the original 1597 Edinburgh edition. The best modernized version is printed in Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 353-425.

124 Ibid., 33.

Most historians have explored the consequentiality of *Daemonologie* for Scottish witchcraft persecutions, but not for Scottish demonic belief in and of itself.[125] Beyond his machinations about the devil and the witch, however, James had much to say in this treatise about the specific powers of Satan. As with most Catholic and Protestant demonological texts, he described Satan as a master of deception, a liar from the beginning who acted as God's Ape by attempting to imitate God himself.[126] As with many other demonological works, James situated the devil's powers under the umbrella of a totally sovereign God. In his introduction, he called the possibilities of the devil's power "infinite," while also carefully clarifying that those powers were given to Satan by God alone:

> But one thing I will pray thee to obserue in all these places, where I reason upon the deuils power, which is the different ends & scopes, that God as the first cause, and the Devill as his instrument and second cause shootes at in all these actiones of the Deuil, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the deuilles intention in them is euer to perish, either the soule or the body, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with: God by the contrarie, drawes euer out of that euill glorie to himselfe, either by the wracke of the wicked in his justice, or by the tryall of the patient, and amendment of the faithfull, being wakened vp with that rod of correction.[127]

In James' discussion of demonic magic, there was a telling dearth of citations of "classical instances which are used in many demonologies to supplement the rather

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[125] One notable exception is Arthur Williamson, who demonstrates the role of the devil in informing James VI's political and historical identity of apocalyptic anticipation. See Williamson, "The Failure of Antichrist and the Emergence of Satan" in *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979), 48-63.

[126] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 340.

[127] James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, xiv.

meager number of biblical instances of magic." [128] In true Reformed fashion, Scripture provided the final say in all his demonological discussions.

Most of all, James was concerned with the powers of Satan to tempt and to deceive, "for that olde and craftie Serpent, being a spirite, hee easilie spyes our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceaue vs to our wracke."[129] He listed three groups who could suffer these demonic assaults:

> the wicked for their horrible sinnes, to punish them in the like measure; The godlie that are sleeping in anie great sinnes or infirmities and weakenesse in faith, to waken them vp the faster by such an vncouth forme: and euen some of the best, that their patience may bee tryed before the world, as IOBS was. For why may not God vse anie kinde of extraordinarie punishment, when it pleases him.[130]

He explained that the devil, who "knowes well inough how to perswade the corrupted affection of them whom God will permit him so to deale with," exploited the existing sinfulness of man— with divine direction, of course.[131] Anyone, then, even the king, could fall victim to Satan.

It is difficult to know to what extent James' concern for the devil reached those Scots far removed from the actions and ideas of the monarchy. Nonetheless, and despite his disputes with the kirk, James's ideas about Satan were formative for at least elite conceptions of both the devil and witchcraft. For example, throughout *Daemonologie*, James was immensely concerned with exploring and explaining the pact formed between Satan and the witch. His preoccupation with the demonic pact became central to Scottish

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[128] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland,* 329.
[129] James VI and I, *Daemonologie*., 8
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid., 45.

witch-belief in the seventeenth century. His ideas about the devil's earthly involvement clearly had traction in early modern Scotland, both reflecting and informing Scottish demonology more broadly. Though his specific beliefs were not unique and conformed to the standard image of the devil in Reformed theology, the articulation and promotion of such ideas by a monarch was singular. Thanks to the writings and influence of James at the turn of the sixteenth century, Satan became not only a concern of the kirk and the individual Scot, but of the state as well.

The Devil Unloosed

Like Calvin before them, the sovereignty of God and double predestination shaped the demonological ideas of early Scottish reformers. From the beginning, Scottish demonic belief was also marked by a militancy that coincided with the citing of specific enemies— Catholics and witches—as well as the identification of Scotland as the New Israel. While concern for the devil's actions in the world comprised a small yet essential component of Calvin's writings, Satan loomed much larger by in the works of the early Scottish reformers and, as we will see in the next chapter, the minds of future Scottish divines. This intense anxiety about the devil's involvement in Scotland was evidenced by the feverous witch-hunting that began in the 1590's, driven in large part by the diabolical definitions of the crime of witchcraft.[132] Beyond witch-belief, the Scottish clergy explicitly linked the devil to sexual crimes, criminal offenses, religious deviance, moral vices such as drinking or gambling, possession cases, and historical phenomena.[133] The

[132] See Levack, *Witch-hunting,* 11.

[133] On the many ways in which demonic belief manifested itself in Scottish culture, see Chapter Five.

prevalence of the devil in Scotland was not confined to the walls of the kirk, as revealed by the spiritual diaries, personal poetry, street literature, and court cases of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

How did the devil become a constant and fervent concern for Scottish theologians and ministers in the years following the Reformation? Calvin's fear of the devil seems to have been kept in check by the doctrines of double predestination and the sovereignty of God— the same concepts that shaped how Scottish reformers understood Satan. Beyond a sense of godly duty, why were Reformed Protestants in Scotland so concerned with the imminent danger of Satan, when their salvation was never at stake? The answers to these questions lie, at least in part, with the rising influence of apocalyptic thought in early modern Scotland.

As Reformed theology took root and flourished in Scotland, Scottish reformers adapted Calvin's demonology to fit the Scottish context, armed with their own set of world views and facing a mess of political, social, and religious issues. Inspired by the turmoil of the age, contemporary religious ideas, and the words of Scripture, these Scots began to believe that they were living in the Last Days. This apocalyptic explanation appealed not only to those like Knox "engaged in the hazardous business of rebellion but also to a great many of the Scottish population who in the last decade had seen their country devastated by war, plague and political crisis."[134] Many understood the devil's ever-increasing action in the world, the cause of this strife throughout Scotland and the rest of Europe, as the ultimate indicator of the coming of the end of the world. In this

[134] Carol Edington, "John Knox and the Castillians: A Crucible of Reforming Opinon," in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, 46.

volatile context, apocalyptic thought became a formative component of Reformed theology, and in turn, demonic belief in Scotland. [135]

This was not unique to Scotland, as Protestants throughout early modern Britain and Europe increasingly focused on preparing and purifying their respective communities for the impending Apocalypse. In this study of Puritan migration to New England, Avihu Zakai has argued that the Protestant Reformation itself made way for a new mode of historical consciousness, based in part on the legacy of Augustine's own eschatology. In *City of God*, Augustine contended that the fall of Adam marked the beginning of a sacred, preordained history defined by the apocalyptic struggle between "two societies of human beings, one of which is predestined to reign with God for all eternity, the other doomed to undergo eternal punishment with the devil."[136] In Scotland, this apocalyptic vision of society propelled, as Arthur Williamson has argued, Satan into "an

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[135] This rise in apocalypticism was by no means unique to Scotland. Historians have long acknowledged that the Protestant Reformation encouraged a flourishing of apocalyptic thought in the Anglophone world, and most have focused on apocalyptisim in England. See John Coffey, "The Impact of Apocalypticism during the Puritan Revolutions," *Perichoresis* 4 (2006): 117-147; P. Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future*
of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth-Century Apocalyptism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); C.A. Patrides and J. Wittreich eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Katharine R Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: the Apocalypse, the Union, and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979). Williamson has argued that the apocalyptic impulse in Scotland did not form as central a component of Scottish political thought as it had in England. Nonetheless, he recognizes the centrality of apocalypticism to the theology and mission of the Scottish kirk.

[136] As quoted in Avihu *Zakai*. *Exile and Kingdom*: *History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 77.

unprecedented place in Scottish thinking during the period 1590-1597" that would continue through the seventeenth century.[137]

Calvin, conversely, was wary of apocalyptic preaching and radicalism more generally, due in part to the turmoil he witnessed during the radical millenarian uprising in Munster in 1536. [138] Among his many scriptural commentaries, he never composed one on the Book of Revelation. He did refer to the existence of the Antichrist, whom he identified with the papacy as well as the Turks, stating that both groups had been led by Satan "for the purpose of setting up a seat of abomination in the midst of God's temple." [139] Calvin did not, however, speculate as to when Christ would come again or when the world would end.[140]As with many other things, he believed firmly that this was for God, and God alone, to know.

Knox, on the other hand, hardly shied away from apocalyptic inquiries. Instead, he was one of the earliest reformers in Britain to espouse eschatological concerns in his writings and sermons.[141] During the early years of the Scottish Reformation, Knox grew increasingly preoccupied with the coming of the Last Days. His apocalyptic thought provided an essential backdrop for his interpretation of Christian duty and his demonic belief. For Knox, the Apocalypse was nigh, and the cosmic struggle between God's

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[137] Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*, 55. William argues that the rise in witchcraft prosecutions in Scotland and the attending emphasis on the demonic pact indicated the new important of Satan in Scottish thought.

[138] Katharine R Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 22.

[139] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, trans. John Pringle (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1948).

[140] David Holwerda, "Eschatology and History: A Look at Calvin's Eschatological Vision", *Exploring the Heritage of John Calvin*, ed. David E. Holwerda (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976).

[141] Richard Kyle, "John Knox and Apocalyptic Thought," 449-469.

servants and those of Satan was coming to a head, fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament.[142] In particular, his conviction that the Day of Judgment was imminent helps to explain the extreme militancy of his theology.

According to Knox, an increase in evil and the persecution of Christians had taken place in the world, a sure sign of the impending Apocalypse. Satan had always raged, but his fury was clearly growing. In an early work composed in 1554, Knox stated that "the whole powers of my body tremble and shake for the plagues that are to come."[143] Elaborating upon the notion that Satan was increasingly active in the world, Knox composed a prayer in the 1560's that lamented how Scotland had "fallen in these latter dayes, and dangerous times, wherein ignorance hath gotten the upper hand, and Satan with his ministers seke by all meanes to quenche the light of thy Gospel." He beseeched God to strengthen the Scottish people "against those ravening wolves, and strengthen all thy servants whom they keep in prison and bondage."[144] In an apocalyptic sermon preached by Knox in 1565 at Edinburgh, he continued to warn of the coming judgment and of the attendant wrath of God. He warned the congregation to "flatter not thy self, the same justice remaineth this day in God to punishe thee Scotlande, and thee Edenborough in especiall, that before punished the lande of Juda, and the citie of Jerusalem. Euerie realme or nation (sayth the Prophet Jeremy) that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise

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[142] Ibid.

[143] Knox, *An admonition or vvarning that the faithful Christia[n]s in London, Newcastel Barwycke [and] others, may auoide Gods vengeau[n]ce bothe in thys life and in the life to come* (Edinburgh, 1554).

[144] Ibid.

punished."[145] As Knox made clear, the elect too would experience the pain and punishment wrought by the Apocalypse, despite their eventual deliverance. As a product of Knox's emphasis on the Apocalypse, the *Scots Confession of 1560* also contained apocalyptic undertones, stating that "the same Lord Jesus shall visibly return for this last Judgment as He was seen to ascend."[146]

Fellow reformer David Fergusson echoed the dangers of living in the last days when he told his readers "I besech you, that ye deceaue not your selues, and namely in these last and moste perrellous dayes, of the which the holy write prophecieth and affirmeth the great dangeres and mischief so that in the dayes, euen the chosen and Elect (if it were possible) therethrough shalbe peruerted."[147] According to aforementioned 1591 collection of prayers, at the heart of this peril lay the raging of Satan, "especiallie in this doting age of the worlde, as he knoweth his time of raigning is but short…the day of judgement be very nigh at hand, wherein his filthiness shall be made manifest to all creatures…so now he rageth in a deadlie hatred against thy flock."[148]

James VI and I also contributed to the development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition early in his reign with an extensive theological commentary on the Book of Revelation, published in 1588. In the introduction, he wrote "as of all Bookes the holy Scripture is most necessary for the instruction of a Christian, and of all the Scriptures, the Booke of the REVELATION is the most meete for this our last age, as a Prophesie of the

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[145] Knox, *A sermon preached by Iohn Knox minister of Christ Iesus in the publique audience of the Church of Edenbrough* (Edinburgh, 1566).
[146] *Scots Confession.*
[147] Fergusson, *Ane epistle*.
[148] Anon, *The sacrifice of a Christian soule*.

latter times."[149] James firmly believed that in these final years of the sixteenth century, the world had entered into its final days and the godly should act accordingly. Scripture, and the Book of Revelation in particular, would provide the guide. His commentary on Revelation elucidated why the coming of the Apocalypse designated the augmentation of Satan's involvement in the world, for "the divel, having bene bound, and his power in his instruments having bene restrained for a long space…at the last he is loosed out of hell by the raising up of so many new ereors and notable evil instruments."[150] Like descriptions of Satan's power in the world, James' apocalyptic warnings were also accompanied by messages of hope for the godly: "the stronger they waxe, and the neerer they come to their light, the faster approacheth their wracke, and the day of our delivery: For kind, and loving, true, and constant, carefull, and watchfull, mighty, and revenging is he that promiseth it".[151]

In Revelation, Reformed Protestants in Scotland found a scriptural basis for why Satan appeared so active in the world during their lifetimes. James saw the evidence of "Satan's loosing" in the actions of the Roman Catholic Church, infusing his apocalyptic thought with an overtly political message. He explained that in Revelation, "By Satan is meant not onely the Dragon, enemie to Christ and his Church, but also with him all the instruments in whom he ruleth, and by whom he ruleth, and by whom he uttereth his

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[149] James I and VI. *Ane fruitfull meditatioun contening ane plane and facill expositioun of ye 7.8.9 and 10 versis of the 20 chap. of the Reuelatioun in forme of ane sermon* (Edinburgh, 1588).
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

cruell and crafty intentions, specially the Antichrist and his Clergie."[152] Here, by not-so-subtly identifying the Pope as the Antichrist, James placed the events prophesied in Revelation within the context of the current struggles against popery in Scotland. His apocalypticism also informed his witch-belief, fueling his ardent desire to rid the world of witchcraft and magic during the Last Days. It is no surprise, then, that James closed *Daemonologie* with the warning that "the consummation of the Worlde, and our deliverance drawing near, makes Sathan rage the more in his instruments, knowing his Kingdome to be so near an ende."[153]

In the last decade of the sixteenth century John Napier, an influential Scottish mathematician and astrologer (among other academic pursuits), composed a study of Revelation entitled *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John.* In the epistle dedicatory, he implored James to move towards "that great and universall reformation and destruction of that Antichristian seat and citie Rome…"[154] In this study of Revelation, Napier arrived at the conclusion that Satan had been bound for over one thousand years, based on the time elapsed between the foundation of the Roman church in 300 and the start of the Reformation. The devil was thus, according to scripture, loosed.[155] Based on other Protestant commentaries on Revelation as well as original calculations, he also predicted that the final 245 years of history would take place

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[152] Ibid.
[153] James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, 81.
[154] Robert Clouse, "John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 1 (1974): 101-114.
[155] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 145.

between 1541 and 1786.[156] Napier's commentary on the Apocalypse was published in 1593, 1611, and 1645 in Edinburgh, as well as twice in London and many times abroad. As one of the first works to posit possible dates for the end of world, Napier's commentary greatly accelerated expectations about the coming of the Apocalypse by placing this paramount event in the foreseeable future.

It is important to note that unlike many of their fellow Protestants in England, the majority of Reformed Protestants in Scotland were not millenarians. Revelation 20:7-10 states that "when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." Based upon a literal interpretation of this passage, millenarians believed that during the Apocalypse, Christ would establish a godly kingdom on earth for a thousand years prior to the final judgment and the end of the world. Non-millennial apocalyptic thought, held by most Scottish divines, asserted that Christ would remain in heaven until Judgment Day, when the elect would be forever separated from the reprobate and the rages of Satan. The thousand years referenced in Revelation were likely symbolic, referring to the history of the Christian church prior to the Reformation.

Both Knox and James argued against the literal, millenarian interpretation of Revelation. In his commentary on Revelation, James discussed the symbolic meaning of the millennium, stating that "these thousand yeeres are but a number certaine for an uncertaine, which phrase or maner of speaking, is often used by the Spirit of God in the

[156] Ibid.,144.

Scriptures, meaning a great number of yeeres."[157] Because they believed the thousand-year kingdom of Christ had already passed, Scottish divines understood the coming of the Apocalypse was understood with much greater urgency, for the Judgment Day would be immediate rather than delayed for a thousand years. This lent the desire for reform, and the attending necessity of combating Satan and his army, a potent immediacy in post-Reformation Scotland.

As Stuart Clark has pointed out, a major question posed by witchcraft theorists and theologians more generally was why the devil and his agents were more active in their age than in the past.[158] He contends that the perception of the devil's increased action in the world, manifested above all by witchcraft, propagated among theologians an increasingly apocalyptic understanding of their age.[159] In the case of the Scottish reformers, however, it appears that the presence of apocalypticism also provided the *basis* for viewing the devil as increasingly active in the world. Belief that the Last Days were nigh was as much a precondition of understanding Satan's worldly involvement as it was an explanation for increased demonic activity. Prior to the Apocalypse, God would keep the devil completely in check, using Satan as his agent for punishment but restricting his activity. The total sovereignty of God could not allow for the devil's actions to go unmitigated. In the Last Days, however, God would let Satan loose. Belief that they were living in the shadow of the Apocalypse thus allowed Scottish Protestants to reconcile

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[157] James I and VI. *Ane fruitfull meditatioun.*
[158] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 315.
[159] Ibid., 321-363.

their understanding of the absolute sovereignty of God with the increasing power of the devil and his army.

In sum, apocalyptic thought in Scotland influenced demonic belief in three primary ways. First, it provided a scriptural basis for understanding the devil's augmented power in the world in conjunction with God's divine immutability. Second, apocalyptisicm explained and historically contextualized recent religious, political, and social turmoil early modern Scotland, solidifying a view of the world as polarized between warring armies of God and Satan. Third, the belief that they were living in the Last Days caused the devil to become a more terrible and tangible figure to the Scottish Reformers than he was to John Calvin.

In many respects, apocalyptic thought served the same purpose for the demonic belief of Catholics and other Protestant groups. As with demonology, however, the doctrine of double predestination lent apocalypticism in Scotland a specifically Reformed character. Calvin himself was unabashedly confident of his own salvation, one of the lucky few for whom the doctrine of election provided absolute assurance. But faced with the coming of the end of the world, less certain Scots would have been increasingly preoccupied with the question of their own salvation status. Were they elect or not? After the impending Judgment Day, would they live joyfully in Christ's kingdom, or would they burn in the fiery lake of hell with Satan? In these Last Days, more than ever before, the godly would wage war against the devil's army to clear the way for Christ's coming. Beyond just being a godly duty, this warring with Satan became an immediate necessity. When it was most needed, fighting this battle could provide reassurance of election; if

one was willing to give everything in the crusade against Satan, this would be considered a product of faith and thus a sign of election. It is no surprise, then, that as apocalyptic thought became imbedded in Scottish theology, the zealous persecution of so many persons and practices associated with the devil became characteristic of early modern Scotland.

Theological beliefs are never transplanted wholesale. The views espoused by Reformed theologians such as Calvin, when spread in different areas and embraced by different cultures, were undoubtedly shaped and reshaped again by new generations. Reformed Protestantism in Scotland, and Calvin's demonic belief in particular, was deeply influenced by the wider socio-economic, cultural, and political ideas and events in early modern Scotland. Of these ideas, the prevalence of apocalyptic thought, informed by the tangible struggles of daily life, profoundly influenced how Scottish divines came to view the devil and his presence in their world. Calvin's fear of the devil had been abated by his personal assurance of election and the subservience of the devil to God's will. Scottish theologians, however, believed the last days were around the corner, and the devil's presence in the world was accordingly augmented. Demonology in Scotland can only be understood through the lens of this apocalyptic thought in conjunction with the Reformed doctrines of the sovereignty of God and double predestination. Future generations of Scottish ministers would rely on sermonic discussions of the devil to convey these complex but essential theological ideas to a growing audience of lay Scottish Protestants.

Chapter Two: From the Pulpit

For the early modern Scottish people, the sermon was the single regular form of mass communication.[1] Following the Reformation in Scotland, the kirk made church attendance compulsory for all Scots, on Sundays as well as weekdays in many areas.[2] Whole communities filed into the parish kirk on the Sabbath day, excepting those who ignored the rules and faced penalties from the local ecclesiastical court for doing so. If there was an important message to be spread, the pulpit provided the means. In a society where many people remained unable read scripture on their own, the sermon served as the centerpiece of worship in Protestant Scotland and a powerful mechanism for reform.[3]

[1] The same point is made about New England by Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 3.

[2] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002), 24. Todd also notes that the pre-Reformation church had been concerned with low attendance, but they did never put any compulsory attendance program in place as they did following the Reformation. See also *Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559*, ed. D. Patrick (Edinburgh, 1907) 127-8 and 138-9.

[3] On preaching and Reformed Protestantism, see James Thomas Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition," in Larissa Taylor, ed. *Preachers and people in the Reformations and Early modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). In Scotland, urban literacy, judged by the ability to sign one's name, hovered around 50% in the 1630s for men, 10-20% for rural areas; much less for women. So though literacy rates were certainly on the rise in seventeenth century Scotland, many remained unable to actually read texts as dense and complex as scripture. See R.A. Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland, 1630- 1760", *Past and Present* 96 (1982): 89-91; John Bannerman, "Literacy in the Highlands," *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, eds Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 214-235.

This is not to say that sermons held a marginal place in medieval devotion; decades of elucidating scholarship on preaching in medieval Europe speak otherwise.[4] In the newly Protestant lands, however, the sensual, visually stimulating service of the Catholic Church morphed into one revolving solely around the word of God, espoused in the form of the sermon.[5] Not everyone accepted this change immediately or without protest, as this was major transformation in how people organized their lives.[6] Indeed, the new focus on the sermon was a concerted attempt by the Kirk and its ministers to alter what and how the Scottish people believed. Yet in Scotland this change occurred with almost no bloodshed. The influence of Reformed Protestantism on Scottish worship was remarkably thorough.[7] By the beginning of the seventeenth-century, the sermon had become the focal point not only of church-going, but also of personal belief.

This chapter explores how Scottish ministers used sermons to translate demonological ideas into pastoral practice and communal and individual belief. From the

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[4] To name a few of the many important studies of preaching in medieval Europe: J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: a Study of English Sermons 1450 – 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964); H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Carolyn Muessig, *Sermon, preacher and audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin, eds., *Charisma and religious authority : Jewish, Christian, and Muslim preaching, 1200-1500* (Belgium : Brepols, 2010); Kimberly A. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice : Memory, Images, and Preaching in the late Middle Ages* (Belgium : Brepols, 2010); Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ : Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence : the Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1989).

[5] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 2.

[6] For a discussion of the Reformation in Scotland, see Chapter One, above. During the generation immediately following the Reformation, the newly Protestant kirk struggled to stamp out stubborn remnants of Catholicism. Organized recusancy was rare, however, and at no point in the seventeenth century did professed Catholics exceed two percent of the population. See Margaret H.B. Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *The Innes Review* 21 (19700: 87-107; Allan I. Macinnes, "Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603-1707," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24 (1992): 27-63.

[7] On changes to Scottish sermons and rituals following the Reformation, see Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, esp. Chapters One and Two.

pulpit, preachers imbued their warnings about Satan with the more complex messages of Reformed Protestantism. The devil, a highly visible element of later medieval piety, was a well-known figure to educated and uneducated Scottish audiences alike.[8] The ideas of predestined election and reprobation, the indelible sovereignty of God, and the depravity of man, however, were foreign and perplexing to many. By focusing on a figure already familiar to Scots, preachers could convey intricate theological ideas in terms that were both understandable and applicable to daily life. Thus discussions of Satan served, first and foremost, to create a godly community cognizant of the true word and decree of God. By expounding at length upon the relationship of Satan to God, man, sin and salvation, preachers aimed to instill in their audiences a clear yet nuanced understanding about what it truly meant to be a Protestant living in tumultuous, if not apocalyptic, times. Through such discussions, minsters reinforced the importance of individual responsibility and communal identity in the face of an ever active adversary.

In the last few decades, scholars from a wide range of disciplines— historians, literary critics, theologians and anthropologists— have begun to mine sermons not just for theology, but as sources with the ability to bring into focus the religions and cultures of the medieval and early modern pasts.[9] This social history of preaching seeks to

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[8] On the role of the devil in late medieval Christianity, see Norman Cohn. *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (University of Chicago Press, 1975); Andrew P. Roach, *The Devils World: Heresy and Society 1100-1300* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005); Michael David Bailey. *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

[9] To name a few particularly useful for this dissertation: Muessig, Preacher, *Sermon and Audience*; Taylor, ed. *Preachers and People*; Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*; John W. O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality, and Reform* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993); Bruce Gordon, "Preaching and Reform of the Clergy in the Swiss Reformation," in Andrew Pettegree, ed., *The Reformation of the Parishes* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993).

analyze the sermon as not just as a text that expounded theological ideas, but as a social event.[10] As James Ford put it, "understanding the sermon as 'social event' involves knowing something about the style and personality of the preacher, the context of the sermon, the social makeup of the audience, and the events or issues of the day."[11]

This important approach poses its own set of problems. Sermons reveal, by their nature, a one-way street of ideas and speeches. Measuring the reception of these sermons by people no longer living is an elusive task. Equally problematic is assessing the extent to which the manuscript or printed sermon resembled the delivered version. Lee Palmer Wandel has pointed out, with regard to printed sermons, that we do not know exactly "what any one Christian heard."[12] Many printed sermons in Scotland, however, were transcribed from auditor's notes rather than the minister's written sermon draft, thus providing a clearer picture of what was actually heard.[13] Additionally, the pages of Scottish diaries and sermon notebooks are full of descriptions of sermons and the men who delivered them.[14] These references demonstrate that many early modern Scots cared, often quite deeply, about the authors, contexts, and content of the sermons they heard in kirk. Still, this again only tells us what the minority of literate Scots took away

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[10] In her article on the study of early modern sermons, Mary Morrissey notes the importance of examining the sermon as both a text and an event. See Mary Morrissey, "*Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons,*" *Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 1111-23.

[11] James Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition," 81.

[12] Lee Palmer Wandel, "Switzerland," in Larissa Taylor, *Preachers and People*, 222.

[13] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 50. See, for example, the introductory note to Andrew Gray's *Select Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1792).

[14] For examples of these sermon notebooks, which often contained transcriptions of delivered sermons as well as notes of general themes, see CH2/21/5; MS V.a.415; MS 2824; MS 3008; MS 5770. For a discussion of the role of Satan in Scottish spiritual diaries, see Chapter Four, above.

from sermons.[15] These issues notwithstanding, sermons provide unique insights into the beliefs of preachers and their audiences and reveal the import of the devil in early modern Scottish society.

Over the course of my research, I have read over 150 sermons from Scotland, dated between 1560 and 1720, which have all discussed the devil in some detail. Of these, approximately fifty are manuscript sermons. Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of early modern Scottish sermons. Many more manuscript sermons can likely be found in local archives or tucked away in family papers. Some sermons that were never printed did not withstand the wear and tear of time. I have chosen to quote from particular sermons that are most illustrative of the pastoral approach to the devil— that is, the sermons that best demonstrate how Scottish preachers conveyed complex theological ideas through discussions about Satan to a laity with varying levels of education and religious conviction.

These sermons run the gamut of early modern Scotland in terms of date and location. The largest numbers of extant sermons are clustered around the mid to late seventeenth century and were delivered in the Lowlands between 1638 and the 1670's. The increase in both political strife and religious controversy during these years, manifested in the rise of the Scottish covenanting movement and the so-called "second

[15] See note 3, above, for a discussion of literacy in Scotland. As one moves forward in time through the seventeenth century, literacy in Scotland steadily increased. Still, in most areas of Scotland literacy rates remained well-below 50 percent until the eighteenth century.

Scottish Reformation," prompted this mid-century proliferation of sermons.[16] Building on the last chapter's examination of sermons delivered during the first generation after the Scottish Reformation in 1560, the present chapter traces how the demonological ideas developed in the seventeenth century once the Reformation had been more thoroughly established. In terms of the available printed and manuscript sermons, what is important here is not simply what the preacher said, but *how* things were said. What was emphasized? What was left out? Can we discern if these choices reflected what congregations wanted to hear? In answering these questions, discussions of Satan in the specific context of early modern Scotland must be related to the larger ideas about the devil that characterized international Protestantism.

Scottish sermons usually began with the recounting of a biblical text, followed by analysis of that scripture, and ending with a discussion of the ways in which that scripture might be applied to daily life.[17] This final didactic portion of the sermon was the most important, for it explained to listeners why the Word actually mattered to them. It was within this discussion of scripture's application to daily life that ministers dwelt at the greatest length on the topic of Satan. In analyzing the sermons that span the seventeenth

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[16] There are many important works that deal with religious controversy and the Covenanters in seventeenth-century Scotland. To name a few: Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion, and Ideas* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003); David Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*: *the History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Morrill, ed. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); David Stevenson, *The Covenanters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Tim Harris, *Restoration*: *Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005). For a discussion of the second Scottish Reformation, see John Young, "The Covenanters and the Scottish Parliament, 1639-51: The Rule of the Godly and the 'Second Scottish Reformation," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* eds. Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 131-158.

[17] Todd also notes this structure of sermons. See *Culture of Protestantism*, 49.

century in Scotland, the consistency in how ministers explained the nature, threat, and immediacy of Satan to their audiences is striking. Certainly, the specific contexts in which sermons were delivered shaped demonic references to persons and events. The personality and preferences of the individual preacher infused the sermons with different nuances and emphases. Yet despite the specificities, the overarching themes of the sinfulness of man and the grace of God consistently determined how preachers spoke about Satan to their audiences. This is due, in large part, to the fact that the ministers who composed and delivered these sermons were consistently Reformed Protestant in belief, as well as Presbyterian in training. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were of course Episcopalian ministers delivering sermons throughout Scotland. Fewer of their sermons are preserved, however, and the ones that do exist contain discussions of the devil that were similarly shaped by the tenets of Reformed Protestantism. This is because, as scholars have pointed out, opinions on church polity did not negate common theological beliefs. [18] Reformed Protestantism clearly guided how Satan figured into the composition and delivery of sermons throughout the seventeenth century.

[18] David Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Coffey, "The Problem of 'Scottish Puritanism', 1590–1638," *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland And Scotland, 1550–1700*, eds. Elizabethanne Boran, Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Many Scottish ministers also switched ecclesiastical allegiances over the course of their careers. See, for example, the works of Andrew Ramsay (1574–1659), who began his career as an Episcopalian but later joined the Presbyterian cause.

Preaching the Word

In the early decades of the Reformation, filling the 1,000 or so pulpits of Scotland with properly trained Protestant ministers proved a major challenge for reformers.[19] As the sermon provided the primary tool for spreading Reformed Protestantism, the dearth of preachers was no small issue. Readers, literate laymen whom Michael Lynch has termed "the foot soldiers of the kirk in its first generation," stepped in to fill the ministerial void by reading scripture to parishioners.[20] In the early seventeenth century, however, the seminaries which had grown-up across Scotland began producing adequate numbers of ministers. By the 1620's, the dearth of preachers was largely abated, at least in the Lowlands, where most parishes received their own minister.[21] At the time of the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, some 150 newly-minted ministers stood line for benefices.[22] In the Highlands, however, clergy were assigned to districts, and individuals preached itinerantly throughout those districts in conjunction with a team of ministers.[23]

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[19] According to Philip Benedict, one a quarter of Scottish parishes had an ordained minister in 1567, largely due to the fact only 18-25% of ministers stayed on to serve the newly Reformed kirk after 1560. This seems to have been a pattern in locations where the Reformation came in the 1560's, a sign that, as Benedict points out, confessional lines were more stringently drawn than they had been the 1520's and 1530's. See Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 443. On Scotland's early difficulties providing Reformed minsters, see also James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change In The Reformation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 96-153; Lynch, "Preaching to the Coverted?" in *The Renaissance in Scotland*, ed. A. MacDonald, Lynch and Ian Cowan (Leiden, 1994) 307-14; Ian Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), esp. 159-81; Walter Roland Foster, *The Church before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland 1596-1638* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Academic Press, 1975).

[20] Lynch states that Readers formed as much as 70 percent of the ministry in 1574. Lynch, "Preaching to the Converted?," 310.

[21] Foster, "A Constant Platt Achieved: Provision for the Ministry, 1600-1638" in *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1967), 132.

[22] Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 444.

[23] Jane Dawson, "Calvinism in the Gaidhealtachd," in Andrew Pettegree, *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 246.

Entrance into the Scottish ministry was not a task to be taken lightly. Before assignment to a parish, most ministers in Scotland underwent a formal university education and a thorough vetting process. The minister had to prove he knew Scripture and the true doctrine like the back of his own hand, for "the preaching of errour is like the selling of poysoned Pestied bread, that slays the eater of it, and infects with the breath every man that comes near."[24] In many places, ministers had to come before a parish's particular presbytery and expound upon Scripture, then deliver a sermon in the kirk considering him for its minister.[25] Proper oratorical style was essential. First and foremost, Reformed preachers eschewed florid, excessively wordy sermons.[26] The best way to teach the laity about how to live a godly life was to speak to them in a clear, plain manner. This "plain speak" must, however, be accompanied by verve and passion. As Calvin himself put it, the minister of the Word "should not only give a clear understanding of scripture, but must also add vehemence so that the message will penetrate the heart."[27] Moreover, Scottish ministers were expected to be active members of their communities and meet lists of duties that extended far beyond the requirement of preaching on the Lord's Day.[28]

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[24] These are minister David Dick's words to about the errors of Arminianism to the General Assembly in Glasgow in 1638. *The Records of the Kirk of Scotland,* Vol 1, ed. Alexander Peterkin (Edinburgh: P. Brown, 1838), 156.

[25] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 24.

[26] Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition," 66-71.

[27] Ibid., 67.

[28] In many parishes, kirk officials checked up on local ministers to assure that their duties were being performed properly. In Aberdeen, for example, a checklist of duties for ministers and kirk session elders included visiting the ill, staying out of taverns, and the maintenance and promotion of "peace and love among all people." See Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 441.

Accordingly, these preachers were not just men of considerable formal learning, but also of charisma and character. To this day, tales abound in Scotland of ministers who could move their audiences to tears, trembling, and conversion. The most famous example is perhaps that of John Livingstone, a young and outspoken Presbyterian who had been travelling around southwest Scotland when he stopped at the Kirk of Shotts in North Lanarkshire. Here, on the morning of June 21, 1630, he gave a singularly powerful sermon on Ezekiel 36:25-26.[29] As the story goes, Livingstone preached for over two hours sin the rain, during which time nearly 500 men and women had conversion experiences. One chronicler even wrote that some, so moved by Livingstone's words, fainted to the ground and laid there "as if they had been dead."[30] This story, though ostensibly exaggerated for political and evangelical purposes, displays the powerful place that preachers held in early modern Scotland. These men did more than preach the Word; they were expected to change the lives of their parishioners as well.

Quite often, the very identity of Scottish preachers was bound up with the belief in and struggle against Satan. These godly men identified themselves as God's agents on earth in the war against the devil. They were generals, reading their troops to fight in an inevitable and crucial conflict against the forces of evil. For some, the battle against the devil drove their religious careers and personal piety from the very onset. Robert Bruce,

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[29] Ezekiel 36:25-26 reads "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." The actual text of Livingstone's sermon is unknown, but it is likely that his sermon contained lengthy discussions of man's sinfulness, his relationship to Satan, and the dependence of man on God's grace.

[30] Recounted in Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communions and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 63-65.

famed minister and moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, explained that his own conversion experience and subsequent call to the ministry in 1581 began when God directed the devil to "accuse me so audibly, that I heard his voice as vividly as I ever heard anything."[31] One contemporary described how a mid-century preacher named John Welwood struggled in his youth "with the sense of sin and apprehensions of deserved wrath, yea with very disquieting temptations from Satan." [32] According to this account, God delivered him from these youthful tribulations, and in return, Welwood "promised to God that he should imploy his best endeavors for the ruine of Satan's kingdom' by committing himself to the ministry."[33]

Zachary Boyd, minister at Glasgow, preached in 1628 that demonic hatred for the Scottish ministry should come as no surprise:

> seeing Gods word is his appointed meane whereby hee not onlie giveth health to the body, but also to the soules of his children, let vs not wonder that Sathan the enemie of mans salvation bee a great enemie to this word, to the teachers, and to the hearers. There is not a Sermon made to a people, but *Sathan is affraide to losse a soule*, for this cause especiallie hee beares a great ill will at *Pastours*, because they carie the word of health…*If they fall, the men of health fall*: the sicke can no more get *salve for his sore*: for this cause let no man wonder that Sathan raiseth slanders vpon Preachers.[34]

Both the teachers and the hearers of the word were part of the same godly community that was constantly assaulted by the devil. Though this sermon singled out preachers as particularly noteworthy targets of Satan, it also emphasized to ordinary Scots— "the

[31] Robert Bruce, *Sermons* ed. by William Cunninghan (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 7.
[32] NLS, Wod.Qu.LXXV. Accounts of covenanting preachers and martyrs from a letter from David Walker to Robert Wodrow, May 1716.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Zachary Boyd, *The Balme of Gilead prepared for the sick* (Edinburgh, 1629)

hearers"— that they were not alone in their struggles, thus embedding discussions of the devil with a sense of community.

As previously noted, sermon attendance became compulsory following the Reformation in Scotland. The sessions' efforts to enforce sermon attendance were in many ways successful. The number of offenders for missing sermons was very small compared to those indicted for slander, swearing and fornication.[35] Even in much of the Highlands, by the seventeenth century kirk attendance had reached consistently high rates, though less so than in the Lowlands.[36] Discipline reinforced the importance of the sermon, as the kirk sessions throughout Scotland prosecuted parishioners who skipped Sunday sermons by imposing fines and other penalties. [37]

The increase in sermon attendance should not be viewed, however, as strictly a result of the kirk session strong-arming parishioners into putting bodies in the pews. Ordinary Scots often reported offenders who missed sermons to their session elders.[38] Moreover, ministers and parishioners alike doubtlessly viewed sermon attendance as a metric and a means for godliness. In a theological system where salvation seemed elusive and perplexing, sermon attendance could serve a two-fold purpose. For individuals, the

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[35] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 44.

[36] See Dawson, "Calvinism in the Gaidhealtachd," 250. Here Dawson tells a particularly interesting but tragic anecdote about the surprisingly high levels of Highland kirk attendance in some areas. On the Isle of Skye, church attendance was so consistent that the MacDonalds of Uist were able to wipe out their rival clan, the MacLead of the Waternash peninsula, by locking the kirk door when the sermon began and setting fire to the building.

[37] On the topic of discipline in early modern Scotland, see Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*; Michael F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: "Godly Discipline" and Population Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1996); Graham, "Social Discipline in Scotland, 1560-1610," in Raymond Mentzer, ed., *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, (Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas
Jefferson University Press, 1994), 129-57.

[38] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 32.

words of the sermon provided the most likely means of achieving a conversion experience and some assurance of faith. For the community, sermon-going could be performative as well as personally fulfilling; by attending regular sermons, Scots hoped to publicly demonstrate their election.

The Nature of the Beast

For many Scots, the frequent religious, social, and political turmoil of the seventeenth century made clear the precariousness of godly life. As one minister eloquently told his congregation:

> no sooner we come out of the Womb, but we Launch forth into an Ocean of Miseries; where we are tossed with Waves, and Troubles, distracted with many Terrors of the Subtility, Recesses, Implication, and Obscurity of things, together with our own Infirmities, and encompassed with continual Evils, that, for the most part, follow us unseparably, as the Shadow follows the Body, and never leaves us, till we get beyond the bounds of Time, and enter those interminable Mansions of Eternity.[39]

Consequently, a key component of this ministerial instruction was to arm the laity against the actions of the devil. The sermon provided the means. First, the Scottish people had to know their adversary. The bible provided many examples of the devil's powers, earthly activities, and evil aspirations. As II Corinthians 2:11 told readers, knowledge was power: "Lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices." 1 Peter 5:8 provided an evocative and tangible vision of demonic threats, which would be quoted by Scottish divines throughout the early modern period: "Be sober, be vigilant;

[39] Adv. MS 5.2.6, f.17-18..

because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." [40]

With Scripture providing the ultimate evidence of demonic prowess and vigilance, minsters sought to communicate to their congregations the earthly reality of Satan. As Hugh Anderson of Udol told his congregation in the late seventeenth century, "Satan is allwayes resisting, going to and fro using all indeavores for marring and retarding the work."[41] In a sermon given at Ayr in the first years of the seventeenth century, John Welch, the son-in-law of John Knox, painted this crusade against the godly in a particularly ominous light:

> He is called Satan, that is, an adversary or enemy…he thirsts for nothing but the dishonor of God, and the destruction of the poor souls of men and women; and nothing can quench his thirst but the pulling off Christ's crown off his head, and pouring out the blood of the souls of men and women, and the casting them in the everlasting fire of hell, that they may be burnt eternally.[42]

In Welch's many sermons given in the early seventeenth century, he emphasized the unrelenting nature of Satan's rage against the godly: "Is he a meek lamb think ye? Will he have any pity on thee? Nay, as the Lord lives, he will not spare thee, for as all the monstrous beasts on earth are not able to express his cruelty of nature, therefore he is

[40] For examples of references to 1 Peter 5:8, see David Fergusson, *Ane answer to ane epistle written by Renat Benedict the Frenche doctor*, 1563; Adv. MS 5.2.6; MS 2206; John Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1744).
[41] MS 8483, 23v.
[42] Welch, "Sermon XI," *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, 160.

compared to a wolf, to a lion, to a dragon, to that mighty leviathan."[43] Ministers took pains to impress upon their audiences that the assaults of Satan would be unremitting, in hopes of inspiring individuals to take seriously the demonic battle that characterized a godly life.

In another sermon, Welch reiterated the necessity of fighting, stating that "What is the life of a Christian but a daily battle?"[44] Many explained that war against Satan was inherent to a godly life—if one was a member of the elect, they must act on their election by constantly struggling against the devil:

> I believe there are many of you that never yet know what it is to right hand for hand with the enemy…let the experience of all the Saints bear witness to you of the necessity of this combat; and if thou be'st one of them, thou wilt never be so soon brought out of the arms of the devil, and set in the bosom of the church of God, but thou must as soon make thee ready for legions of devils, to fight against thee…This is the last thing ye must do, without which ye can do nothing, ye must put on the whole armour of God.[45]

Here Welch couched the necessity of combat in terms of election, hoping to spur those concerned with their own salvation into action.

To better explain the nature of Satan and the imminence of demonic threats, ministers often employed metaphors from daily Scottish life. For example, Alexander Henderson told his audience at Edinburgh that

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[43] Welch, "Sermon XI," 162. Welch's powerful sermons, delivered daily during his brief tenure at Ayr, were said to have been so popular that the burgh council discussed building a larger kirk to house the increased crowds that he drew. See Alan R. MacDonald, "Welch, John (1568/9–1622)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/28979, accessed 9 May 2011]

[44] Welch, "Sermon X," 140.

[45] Ibid., 142.

> Ye would think it a very ill thing if the cold winter were coming upon you and ye had neither house, nor fire, nor meat, nor clothes to defend you from the injury of it ; it is a worse thing to have ane enemy coming against you to destroy your bodies, and ye have nothing to guard you from their cruelty, but to be preys to them. But it is worst of all if the devil come against us and we have no armour to defend ourselves from him.[46]

Henderson spoke these words in clear anticipation of the impending political and religious crises of the first Bishops' War in 1638. His message emerged from a specific context but carried a more general message, echoed time and time again and Scottish sermons: the people must turn to God to arm themselves for the battle against Satan.[47] By comparing the need to arm oneself against Satan to the necessity of preparing for a harsh winter—something premodern Scots understood all too well—Henderson reified both scripture instruction and the threat of the devil.

Like their theological predecessors, Scottish ministers wanted to convey to their parishioners that Satan acted only as an agent of a sovereign God, while at the same time maintaining God could not be the author of any evil. In a sermon delivered in at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Welch explained that, "when it is said that he [the devil] is powerful, it is true, but his power is limited and bounded, and there are marches and bounds set unto him, that he dare not pass over."[48] Many Scottish ministers and theologians explained to their congregations that the devil was allowed by God to act according to his corrupted nature; God was thus absolved of responsibility for Satan's

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[46] Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, prayers and pulpit addresses of Alexander Henderson*, ed. Thomas R. Martin (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1867), 458.
[47] This was a scriptural reference to Ephesians 6:11: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."
[48] Welch, "Sermon XI," 166.

actions. Samuel Rutherford, the famed political theorist, and minister, detailed the origins of Satan's malice in sermon published in 1645: "The Malice of the Devil is a natural Agent, and worketh as intently and bently as he can, [like] the Fire putteth forth all its Strength in burning, the Sun heateth and enlighteneth as vehemently as it can…The Malice of Hell being let loose, it worketh Mischief by Nature, not by Will." [49] Here Rutherford attributed some agency to Satan, certainly more than Calvin would have allowed, but he was still careful to maintain that the devil was not acting by his own independent will. This rhetoric of God permitting the devil to move by his own "inward motion", to use Knox's phrase, gave Scot preachers a way to attribute the evils of the world to Satan's actions alone while still keeping the devil under the yoke of God.

Contemporary descriptions of God's wrath were strikingly parallel to, and no doubt intertwined with, the rage of the devil, who acted as "the currier sent of God to put his wrath in execution."[50] Robert Baille told his audience to "consider the exceeding great terror of God when he is angry, his wrath burneth like fire.… it maketh the most godly to become like a bottle in the smoak…it turneth their moisture into the draught of Summer, knowing the terror of the Lord be not persuaded to make peace with him in time; venture not his hot displeasure."[51]As Baille explained, "neither hereafter by all the activity of our enemies, men or devils, shall any more trouble be brought upon us, then that which the

[49] Samuel Rutherford, "Sermon V," *The Trial and Triumph of Faith* (Edinburgh, 1645), 43. *Trial and Triumph*, published again in London in 1652, was a collection of 27 sermons delivered in the early 1640's amidst the turmoil of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.
[50] Welch, "Sermon XI," 195
[51] Robert Baillie, *Satan the Leader in chief to all who resist the reparation of sion* (London, 1643), 39.

Lord our God by his owne hand shall bring on."[52] Interpreting a recent fire as a clear sign of God's wrath, James Webster delivered the following lines in 1700 to an Edinburgh congregation: "I will tell you the frame of some, they have been under the sense of God's Wrath, under great fears of a provoked God that is pursuing a terrible controversy with Scotland, when the Lyon roars who will not fear."[53] Here the lion refers to Satan, the instrument of God's displeasure. Man thus faced double trials and punishments in their lives: the wrath directly from an awful God because of their sins, and the evil rage of Satan under the will of God.

Descriptions of God's wrath and demonic activities served the same purpose in Scottish sermons: to warn the faithful of the impending punishments for their personal sins and the sins of their community. Combining the two in sermons allowed ministers to demonstrate both the awfulness of God and the subservience of the devil, with the goal of leading their parishioners to alter their beliefs and actions accordingly. Thus discussions of Satan served not only as a didactic tool to promote good behavior and communal solidarity, but also provided a necessary pastoral language to communicate key elements of Reformed Protestantism in an immediate and evocative way.

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[52] Ibid., 3. For those foolish enough to question the power of God himself, in the 1670's the Presbyterian minister Michael Bruce warned that "he will let them know that he is a living GOD, O bide while they get a Trial of his Iron rod, that will grind them to Powder, and then they will know." Michael Bruce, *Soul-Confirmation* (Edinburgh, 1709).

[53] MS 2206.

"Devil is busie to get your hearts"[54]

Scripture, theological writings, and lived experiences attested to the fact that Satan was a master of deception and temptation. Scottish ministers went to great lengths to assure that their parishioners were cognizant of and prepared for demonic lies and assaults. First, men and women had to protect their thoughts from Satan, who could enter the mind unnoticed, planting doubts and impure thoughts at his whim, leading even the most pious to sin. As one late seventeenth century minister put it, "when Satan gets one thought, he will get another thought, and then the man is all blown up with filthy lusts."[55] John Brown warned his audience in 1660 not to give heed "to the lying Injections and temptations of Satan: It is not safe to entertain discourse with such an enemy, who is a Lyar and a Murderer from the beginning: He is too great a Sophist and Disputer for us."[56] As another minister put it, Satan "is that subtle serpent that deceives all the world; he is that seven-headed dragon that has such wit and wisdom that no wisdom can come about it but only the wisdom of God."[57] Here again, preachers expounded on the powers of the devil, but only with a nod to the supremacy of God.

Satan most easily preyed upon open and unguarded minds. As Alexander Henderson explained to his audience, "the devil, he knows every man's disposition, how it is set; if he see him to be a voluptuous man; if he be one whom he sees to be ambitious; or if he be one whom he sees to be covetous. And he knows also the complexion and

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[54] Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669).
[55] MS 5770, f.69.
[56] John Brown, *From Christ in believers the hope of glory being the substance of several sermons* (Edinburgh, 1694) Probably delivered in 1660.
[57] Welch, "Upon Christian Warfare," *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, 165.

constitution of man's body…and he has temptations fitted for all these."[58] Ministers emphasized these mental dangers of Satan in hopes that their parishioners would shield their minds from impure thoughts or doubts that might be demonic in origin. For the Reformation of Scotland to succeed and the wrath of God to be avoided, the Scottish people had to be disciplined not only in word and deed, but in their thoughts as well.[59] The minds of men were, of course, ultimately uncontrollable. Nonetheless, ministers hoped that sermonic warnings would have some influence on how people both thought and behaved.

Through preaching, ministers communicated to their congregations that the struggle against the internal temptation of Satan was a necessary component of the godly experience and identity. As many examples from scripture made plain, the relationship between God's children and the devil was an ancient one. Satan, congregations were reminded, precipitated the fall of man. Just as the devil easily beguiled Adam and Eve, he would surely attempt the do the same to ordinary men and women. As one mid-century minster put it, "it is a very wily sin, at first forged solely and subtly in our first Parents, by the father of liars, the Devill himself…for he [Satan] having thus poisoned the root purposes also to poison the branches; wherefore study to lay aside this old man of original sin and put on the new man of grace."[60] Echoing this reference to the fall of man, John Livingstone told his congregation at Ancrum in 1661 that "truly it is very

[58] Henderson, *Sermons*, 477.
[59] See Chapter One, above.
[60] MS 5769, "Sermon by Mr. W. Jack," f.133.

probable that Satan thought after he had gotten Adam and Eve in the snare, he thought he had all mankind…as his own , in possession under lock and key."[61]

Even Christ had been subject to demonic assaults. As John Brown told his audience at Wamphray in 1660, "We know with what temptations the devil set upon Christ himself; After that he had tempted him, with the foulest Idolatry, *To wit*, to worship the devil…What will he not then attempt against the poor Followers of Christ? Why should his Followers think it strange, when long troubled with such injections?"[62] The lies and temptations of the devil thus were, and always had been, an inescapable component of godly life. By emphasizing the universality of demonic assaults, ministers further instilled their parishioners with a sense of community; they were all in it together, with Satan and his followers as the common enemy.

Maintaining the Reformation in the Last Days

In the seventeenth century, the kirk and its ministers became obsessed with the spiritual backslide of their country. They worried that Scots of all sorts had grown complacent, losing ardor in the battle against Satan. Worse, evidence of demonic influence was rampant at the very top of Scottish society— particularly in the persons of Charles I and, later, his son Charles II. Ministers, especially those of the covenanting persuasion, found themselves engaged in warfare that was at once spiritual and political.[63] In their eyes, the success of their Presbyterian cause equaled the success of the Reforming mission itself. Because Satan lay behind all hindrances to the true faith,

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[61] Wod. Qu. LXVII., 9rv.
[62] John Brown. *From Christ in believers.*
[63] See note 16, above.

demonic belief provided a conceptual framework to understand political and spiritual turmoil as inextricably linked, as well as a language to communicate the severity of Scotland's crises to a wider audience.

Political discussions of Satan escalated during the beginnings of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and reached a climax during the Restoration. In 1638, a group of Presbyterian clergyman composed and signed the National Covenant, a document that opposed to Charles I's imposition of the English liturgy upon the Scottish kirk.[64] This document laid bare the aims of the Scottish kirk and its objections to the recent actions of the government, which the authors believed had been "stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist."[65] The men who promised to uphold the National Covenant became known as Covenanters, and self-identified as such.[66] The Covenanters faced their most intense period of political persecution during the reign of Charles II, who reinstated episcopacy in the Scottish kirk and actively sought to imprison and even execute the Presbyterian rebels. In the sermons of these Covenanters, one finds some of the most passionate and urgent discussions of Satan.

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[64] This was not the first national covenant signed in Scotland; the first major covenant was composed in 1581 and bound those who signed it to uphold the reforms of the newly Protestant kirk against any and all Catholic incursions. Endorsed and signed by James VI, who hoped that the document implied loyalty to the king as well, the covenant of 1581 was also known as the King's Covenant. Though this covenant did not contain the theological implication of a contract with God, as did 1638 National Covenant, it nonetheless laid important groundwork for future covenanting documents. For a further discussion of the lead up to the signing of the National Covenant of 1638, see David Stevenson's brief but very useful *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1988).

[65] Church of Scotland, *The National Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms* (Edinburgh, 1660). The National Covenant was signed in 1638 but was not printed in Scotland until 1660.

[66] In 1643, in the midst of English Civil War, the many of these same men signed the Solemn League and Covenant, an agreement between the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Parliamentarians to uphold and promote the "true religion" throughout Britain in the face of Catholicism.

In explaining what they saw as the recent spiritual decline of their country, covenanting ministers told their congregations that the devil worked in conjunction with an assortment of enemies, all poised to subvert the mission of the true kirk of Scotland. The question of who comprised the enemy shifted according to political and religious tensions, incorporating many other enemies beyond those of Rome.[67] In a sermon delivered to the House of Commons on February 28, 1643, Robert Baillie averred that "the great and chief leader of all those who oppose the Reformers of a Church or State, is the Devill."[68] This sermon insisted, in unambiguous terms, that Charles I, Archbishop Laud, and their supporters were in league with the devil. During the period of the Restoration, when Presbyterians came under increasing fire from the government of Charles II, John Brown of Wamphray delivered a sermon explained the contemporary plights of the Church in demonic terms:

> It is wonderfull to see how variously Satan doth assault the Churches of God, some one way, some another… Against some, Satan doth raise cruel & bloody persecutions, others he endeavoureth to draw away from their stedfastness & zeale, by ensnareing allurements: a third sort he invadeth with all his troupes & forces at once: And thus is the lately glorious Church of Scotland tried this day.[69]

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[67] After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, for example, a common fear became "the corruption of the kirk of England coming upon us." John Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 437. Around 1630, John Livingstone told his congregation at Ancrum that "Satan has many engines, but there is one that is the master piece…And he is rightly called the antichrist because he is both a enemie to Christ and then as like as can be not to be the same has ordinances very like the ordinances of god, sits in the temple of god as god…" Livingstone, 56r. Here, this is a blatant reference to the papacy, who many Protestants had believed was the figure of the Antichrist from the early sixteenth century.

[68] Robert Baillie, *Satan the Leader and Chief*, 33.

[69] John Brown, *An apologeticall relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professours of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1665).

Clearly, ministers emphasized the demonic association of their enemies to further vilify any opposition. This in no way contradicts, however, their genuine belief in the Satanic allegiance of their earthly adversaries.

The role of Satan in instigating the political and spiritual conflicts that dominated the lives of many Scottish ministers was not lost on their audiences. Quinton Dick, an Aryshire farmer, provides a telling example of this reception. In his diary, he observed the political tumult around him, particularly the conflicts between moderate and radical Presbyterians during the late 1670's and 80's.[70] In lamenting the violence of recent years, Dick wrote in 1684 that "the divel is aloft in Scotland by one engine of other utterly to ruine the Presbyterian cause and work of reformation in that land."[71] Throughout his diary, Dick connected political infighting with the devil's desire to overturn the true faith in Scotland and mimicked the language of contemporary sermons.

Political documents also mirrored the demonic language of sermons when explaining the religious and political plights of the Scots throughout the seventeenth century. For example, an act passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1645 authorizing the *Directory of Public Worship* to replace the common prayer book revealed the intensely militaristic attitude about faith. The act proclaimed that "All who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh…"› and implored God to strengthen the elect "against the

[70] Though a self-proclaimed Presbyterian, Dick refused to take up arms against Charles II, as the militant Cameronians had done. See Quinton Dick, "A Brief Account," *Protestant Piety in Early Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712*, ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish history Society, 2008), 167-196.
[71] Quinton Dick, "A Brief Account," 180.

temptations of Satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and saving hearing."[72] This legal document, which waxed sermonic, exemplified the extent to which the devil was a part of the intertwined political and religious struggles in early modern Scotland.

Though the association of the devil with enemies of the kirk could be, in effect, a political tool, behind the overtly political messages laid the potent fear that Satan was enjoying easy success in overturning the work of God. As Andrew Gray wrote in the mid-seventeenth century, "I confesse the devil needs not to be at much pains in these dayes, there is many which gives the devil work and imployment, yea, and if he seeks not them, they will seek him!"[73] While the original reformers like Calvin and later Knox certainly cautioned the faithful about the danger in "resting," later Scottish ministers were increasingly fervent in their admonitions against "contentment." They sensed that the religious fervor and commitment to reform in Scotland had waned after the Scottish Reformation had run its course. In response, ministers across Scotland and throughout the seventeenth century used their pulpits to deliver sermons aimed at counter-acting any popular misconceptions that the battle with Satan was over. By attaching a call to arms with discussions of concern for the spiritual welfare of the Scottish kirk, ministers hoped to awaken their congregations to Christ's battle cry and their godly duty.

[72] Parliament of Scotland, *Charles I. Parl. 3. Sess. An Act of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland approving and establishing the Directory for Publick Worship* (Edinburgh, 1645).
[73] Gray. *Directions and Instigations.*

In an exhortation delivered at Inverness in April, 1638, avid Presbyterian Andrew Cant lamented the recent spiritual backslide of Scotland, with Satan as the maestro of this decline:

> Long ago our gracious God was pleased to visit this nation with the light of His glorious Gospel, by planting a vineyard in, and making His glory to arise upon Scotland. A wonder! that so great a God should shine on so base a soil…. whence upon Scotland (a dark obscure island, inferior to many) the Lord did arise, and discovered the tops of the mountains with such a clear light, that in God's gracious dispensation, it is inferior to none. How far other nations outstripped her in naturals, as far did she out-go them in spirituals….But alas! Satan envied our happiness, brake our ranks, poisoned our fountains, mudded and defiled our streams; and while the watchmen slept, the wicked one sowed his tares…. Truth is fallen in the streets, our dignity is gone, our credit lost, our crown is fallen from our heads; our reputation is turned to imputation.[74]

To ministers like Cant, Satan underlay, in some way, all Scotland's political and religious troubles. Like Knox before them, they believed in a polarized world, constantly engrossed in spiritual warfare. Alexander Henderson emphasized the persistence of this warfare in a 1638 sermon in which he warned his audience not to be so foolish as to expect spiritual ease:

> for long or now we had been drunken with ease ; but trouble coming upon us has made us to draw our clothes to us, and gird them fast on, and make us for a journey, and for our Christian warfare. And therefore make this use of it, that ye should not imagine that ever the kirk, so long as she is here, shall be free of afflictions…No, I will assure you it would not be so, for the devil is not dead yet, and he has evermore his awin supposts, and malignant spirits anew to raise up to trouble his kirk…And therefore think not that ye sail have a heavenly peace so long as ye are here ; but ye must put on the whole armour of God, and resolve to fight…[75]

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[74] James Kerr, ed. *The Covenants And The Covenanters: Covenants, Sermons, and Documents of the Covenanted Reformation.* (Edinburgh: RW Hunter,1895), 77-8.
[75] Henderson, *Sermons*, 245.

Before salvation, granted to the elect at death, participation in such warfare was a given for the godly. This focus on warfare, needed to maintain the Reformation's success, informed audiences of both individual responsibility and communal obligation to Scotland.

Another famed Covenanter, Samuel Rutherford, made an overtly political and militaristic call to arms at Anworth during the turmoil of the mid-century. He told his audience that "the Devil will not be removed without Blood, Sweating, and Great Violence."[76] In the same sermon, which was later published in Glasgow and London, Rutherford went on to say that "the Devil's War is better than the Devil's Peace…'tis terrible to be carried to Hell without any Noise of Feet: The Wheels of Satan's Chariot are oiled with carnal Rest, and they go without ratling and Noise…"[77] In a 1672 sermon in the parish of Carluke, Michael Bruce implored his congregation: "Is there any noise or shaking in your dry bones?...is there any thing among you that says ye will be a Living Armie to God or all be done"?[78] Pining for the good old days of Reformation fervor, he lamented that "our Difficulties have drowned our zeal. The days has been in Britain and Ireland when are Difficulties and troubles has been like burning coal to quicken us, and make our Zeal far more fervent, but now our Difficulties are like so much wett Timber laid upon the top of our Zeal, and it is like to drown all out."[79] Even when the world seemed at peace and Satan appeared to rest, ministers instructed their parishioners not to

[76] Rutherford, *Trial and Triumph*, 401.
[77] Ibid., 402.
[78] Michael Bruce, *The Rattling of Dry Bones* (Edinburgh, 1672), 4.
[79] Ibid.

cease their crusade, for "an unseen and quiet devil, may be more hazardous, than a seen and a roaring devil; Corruptions grow not alwayes most, when they rage most."[80]

Apocalyptic thought in Scotland, firmly established by Knox and other early reformers, drove this obsession with continued reformation during the seventeenth century.[81] Ministers believed that "the end of all dayes, the end of the world, the consummation of weeks, moneths, and years" was fast approaching and strove to communicate the immediacy of the Apocalypse to their parishioners.[82] As James Renwick told his audience in the 1670's, "if ye have any respect to God and his truths, ye cannot but be concerned in this evil and declining day."[83] These eschatological ideas infused discussions of Satan and his activities in the world with renewed urgency.

Samuel Rutherford described this ongoing turmoil in Scotland as an intrinsic part of Christ's second coming, explaining that "What wonder is it that Multitudes of Heresies and Sects, and many blasphemous and false Ways arise now, when the Lord is to build up Zion… Satan raiseth up Storms and Winds in the broad Lake of Brimstone to drown the Church of God: Christ hath not fair weather when he goeth to Sea."[84] A warning from the General Assembly in 1645, addressed to the "Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burrows, Ministers, and Commons" as well as the armies of Scotland, reified to Scots of all sorts the urgency of this apocalyptic conflict:

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[80] John Brown, *Christ in Believers*, (Edinburgh, 1694).
[81] See Chapter One, above.
[82] Daniel Woodward, *An Almanac but for one Day, or the Son of Man reckoning with Man* (Glasgow, 1671), 5.
[83] James Renwick, *Christ Our Righteousness* (Glasgow, 1776), 8.
[84] Rutherford, *Trial and Triumph*, 461.

> Satan is full of fury, because he knowes he hath but a short time to reigne. The Cockatrice before hatched, is now broken forth into a Viper. The danger was before feared, now it is felt; before imminent, now incumbent; before our division, now our destruction is endeavored; before the Sword was fourbished and made ready, now the Sword is made fat with flesh, and drunk with Bloud, and yet it hungreth and thirsteth for more.[85]

In the Last Days, more than ever before, the Scottish people ought not be surprised about the trials facing them. As scripture foretold, Satan would be loosed from his chain in hell during the Apocalypse, in order to carry out God's divine justice.[86] In surveying the ongoing political and religious tumult of the seventeenth century, to many evidence the devil's loosing seemed undeniable.

What the ministers feared most during this apocalyptic hour was the wrath of God as just punishment for their country's spiritual laxity. The devil, as God's executor of wrath, would figure prominently in the troubles to come. Concern for this coming of divine vengeance manifested itself in desperate calls to action from the pulpit. In 1682, the minister of Glenuce Alexander Pethane gave a sermon fittingly titled "The Lords Trumpet Sounding the Alarm" in which he predicted the coming of:

> A Bloody Sword, a Bloody Sword, a Bloody Sword for thee O Scotland, that shall reach the most part of you to the very heart… Now people in Scotland, What are ye doing when such a dreadful wrath is at your door? He is not worth his room in Scotland the day that prayeth not the half of his time, to see if he can prevent that Dreadful wrath that is at your Door coming on your poor Motherland. O sirs, Ye must pray Plowing, Harrowing and Shearing, ay and at all your Labour, ay when

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[85] *The Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 425. Cockatrice, a translation of a Hebrew word used in the King James bible, referred to a mythical dragon with a rooster's head, supposedly produced from a cock's egg. Modern versions of scripture use the terms "viper" or "poisonous snake."

[86] Revelation 20:7-10 states that "when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea."

> you are Eating and Drinking, going out and in, and at all your Imployments; there was never more need than now.[87]

The last line of this passage from Pethane," there was never more need than now," expressed a common theme of sermons in early modern Scotland: the Last Days were nigh, and Scotland had better get its act together accordingly.

Looking to the bible for guidance in such apocalyptic times, ministers commonly gave sermons on the Book of Revelation. These sermons espoused the urgency and militarism that had been imbedded in apocalyptic thought since the Reformation. As Andrew Gray told his congregation, "believe it, the day is coming, that either that contract between you and Christ, shall be eternally confirmed, or that contract between the devil and you, shall be eternally ratified."[88] By asserting the immediacy and finality of the Apocalypse, Scottish ministers attempted to drive home the absolute necessity of battle with the devil and his army as part of the road to salvation. In a particularly ominous sermon delivered in the late seventeenth century, Alexander Pethane described Scotland's current state with apocalyptic rhetoric: "for Scotland shall be drowned with Blood er long; and then in that Fearful Day of Treachery and Covenant-breaking with God; the Testimony of a Good Conscience will be a Good Feast when a Bloody Sword may be at your Breast, then Peace with God will help to make a Good Testament in that Day."[89] With these words, Pethane hoped to enflame his congregation with the desire to

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[87] Alexander Pethane, *The Lord's Trumpet sounding an ALARM Against Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1682), 5.
[88] Andrew Gray, *Great precious promises*, (Edinburgh, 1667), 145.
[89] Pethane, *The Lords Trumpet*, 6. Here Pethane was specifically targeting the popish ministers, professors at Oxford, and "the Bloody Duke of York," all of whom he believed to be in league with the devil.

combat evil in the last days. If they did so, they could be assured that final salvation would bear the fruits of their labor.

The Enemy Within

Beyond Satan, the Scottish people faced another enemy— themselves. The total depravity of post-lapsarian man had been, from the beginning, a cornerstone of Reformed Protestantism. Preachers had no qualms about reminding their audiences of this innate corruption. As one mid-century minister bluntly put it, "our original and natural corruption, which sticks exceedingly close to us, being an universall disease and poyson runing throw, and infecting both the utter and iner man, defiling all the faculties of our souls, and members of our bodies, so if at this day there is not a free bitt in us, neither can we easily be rid of it, being up in the wilt and down in the Will…"[90] It was only through this corruption of humankind that Satan could operate effectively; man's "Corrupt Nature" was "the Devill's Agent, loading us like as many dogs in a Leish to provoke the Lord."[91] By the seventeenth century, the relationship between the corruption of human nature and Satan had become a frequent and central theme of Scottish sermons.

In 1688, Robert Rule delivered a revealing sermon that detailed how the devil manipulated man's natural proclivity to fear and doubt. "Of all the creatures in the world," he began, "man is apt to torment and afflict himself with fears, and the worst prospect of times and affairs that are afflicting to people, is not so dangerous as the fears

[90] MS 5769, f.133.
[91] Ibid.

that arises from within a mans self."[92] This statement echoed a theological conviction prevalent in Reformed Protestant thought: though external threats certainly existed, they paled in comparison to internal temptations and corruptions.[93] This emphasis on the internal was central to how Reformed ministers conceptualized the actions of Satan. Rule went on to explain that, "it is true that the Lord makes use of the fears of his people to stiff up their hearts to vigilance, and watchfulness against sin, and to provoke them to diligence and care about their eternal Salvation. But the Devill makes a sad use of it, for he makes use of their fears to cast them into despondency, and unbelief and distrust of his promises, and turning them out of [God's] way for his way for help."[94] Ministers went to lengths to explain to their parishioners that God was eager to help them, if they would only get out of their own way.

Ministers thus presented human corruption and the actions of Satan in tandem; one could not exist without the other. As Charles Hammond put it in a 1671 sermon delivered in Edinburgh, "a true Christian hath always three enemies to deal withall, the world, the flesh and the Devill; and these three seek all opportunities to lay hold and conquer."[95] Here, the world refers to the corruptions of others, and the flesh denotes temptations and lusts from within; both worked with the devil to ruin the work of God. Echoing this sentiment, David Willigham advised his congregation to "be zealous, for

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[92] MS 5770, f.3.
[93] See Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England" *Journal of British Studies*, 43 (2004): 173-205; Frank Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000): 37-68; Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000).
[94] MS 5770, f.3.
[95] Charles Hammond, *God's Eye from Heaven* (Edinburgh, 1671).

there are snares without, and corruptions within."[96] John Welch couched this message within his typically militaristic language, explaining that "the godly, because God and the devil, light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, a Jacob and an Efau are within them, therefore they cannot be without warfare."[97] The necessity of eternal, earthly warfare came, at least partially, from the fact that man was so innately corrupt.

Some ministers went so far as to claim that man had a natural affinity, even love, for Satan. Samuel Rutherford, a leader of the Covenanting movement during the English Civil war, stated that while man hates the devil for the pain he inflicts upon him, there existed

> in all Men an inbred moral Love of the Devil, as he is a fallen Spirit, tempting to Sin; here every Prisoner loveth this Keeper, like loveth like, broken Men and Bankrupt flee together to Woods and Mountains: An Out-law loveth an Out-law, Fowls of a Feather flock together, the Devil and sinful Men are both broken Men, and Out-laws of Heaven, and of one Blood…Satan findeth his own Seed in us by Nature, to wit, Concupiscence, a Stem, a Sprouting, and Child of the House of Hell….[98]

Far from being strange bedfellows, humans and Satan had an innate connection, established at the fall. Through preaching and spiritual guidance, ministers strove to sever this connection.

Without God's grace, ministers insisted, humans would fall into a spiritual abyss, subject to every whim of Satan. Andrew Gray warned his mid-century congregation at Glasgow that

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[96] MS 5770, f. 119.
[97] Welch, "Sermon X," 144.
[98] Rutherford, *Trial and Triumph of Faith*, 39.

> if your heart were left one hour to your selves to keep, you would commit more iniquity, than ye can imagine or dream of…there is many of us that hath two hearts in our bosom... a man that hath two hearts, a part of his heart goeth to God, and a part of his heart goeth to the devil: And I think, if we were all well searched, it is to be feared that many of us would be found two hearted men.[99]

The emphasis on the corruption of humankind continued well into the eighteenth century. John Mclaurin, a minister in Glasgow, wrote in 1723 that "we should reflect in the first place, that the Devil and our own corrupt hearts are such notorious imposters, that the Experience we have of their Deceitfulness are innumerable, and so also are the Evidences we have of God's holiness."[100]

Above all, ministers impressed upon Scots that they must rely on God in order to resist the base desires of their natures. In a letter to the Presbytery of Irvine in 1641, covenanting minister Robert Baillie warned that the members of the kirk must collectively "pray to God for our cause and Church: God will help us against all, men and devills: No man is to be trusted; the best is naturallie false."[101] As Alexander Henderson told his congregation in 1638, "our hearts they are contrary to God; they are proud, disobedient, rebellious, and he who sees and knows his own heart sees all this to be in it; and he knows that it is the Lord who cries upon him, in the day of his own power, and frames his heart in a new mould,.[102] Henderson delivered another sermon in the fall of 1638, just before the signing of the National Covenant, in which he called upon God defend the vulnerable hearts of his congregation against the temptations of Satan:

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[99] Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations,* 95.
[100] Wod. Oct. XXXI., 247v.
[101] Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637-1662*, 3 vols, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: The Bannatine Club, 1841), 350.
[102] Henderson, *Sermons, prayers and pulpit addresses*, 19.

> Lord, oppose thyself against all hindrances and impediments, both without us and within us ; especially set our hearts right, for if so be that we had a right heart, then Satan nor his temptations would not prevail over us. But it is a pitiful thing that he has darts, and shoots them at poor souls, and we are ready to receive them, and then we cannot get them out again ; and therefore we beseech thee to arm us with the breastplate of righteousness, that so we may stand out against all the fiery darts of the devil. Let us not think it strange that we are assaulted ; but, Lord, give us a testimony that we are thy children, in not suffering us to be overcome ; and make us to be content to go on from day to day in fighting against thy enemies and ours.[103]

This particular sermon expressed why Satan so prevailed over the hearts of man, and offered relief, through prayer, from these internal struggles. An emphasis on community effort and identity also pervaded this sermon, reflecting an urgent desire for solidarity against the devil.

The sermonic connection between Satan and human depravity left a clear mark on the self-perception of many lay Scots, at least those able to leave behind accounts of their experiences. The spiritual diaries of the period, discussed at length in Chapter Four, made frequent references "the devil and man's evil heart." Many Scots espoused a remarkable obsession with personal depravity as well as the actions of Satan, which drove some individuals so far as to contemplate suicide in response to the religious despair that this obsession could cause. [104] Archibald Johnstone of Wariston, a lawyer famous for his radical Presbyterianism, wrote in 1650 "O let not, let not the devil, world, sin, our corrupt

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[103] Ibid., 215.

[104] See, for example, David G. Mullan ed, "Mistress Rutherford's Conversion Narrative." *Scottish History Society, Miscellany xiii*. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2004), pp. 146-88; Wod. Oct. XXXI Part of the diary of Sir John Chiesly, 1667; James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842); James Nimmo, *The Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo: Written for his own Satisfaction to Keep in some rememberance the lords way dealing and kindness towards him, 1654-1709*, ed. W.G Scott Moncrieff (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1889); CH12/18/6 Diary of John Forbes of Corse; Ch12/20/9 Religious diary, 1679-1692.

hearts, ever be able to outsay, unsay, gainsay God in this, what thou says of us, that we shall be thine. Let nothing in hell or earth, within us or without us, be able to say, We shall not be thine…."[105] James Nimmo, a layman and self-identified Covenanter, bemoaned how, throughout his life, "sathan and my corruptions and ivel heart being desperatlie wicked of it self strove to crush me and all I had attained of peace by terrors, feares, and discurradgments."[106] In the early eighteenth century, schoolteacher Thomas Locke explained in a letter that "by nature we are of our father the devil, and his works we will do as natively as fire casteth forth heat…"[107] These examples are a few of the many instances in which lay Scots demonstrated reception and adoption of the descriptions of the close cooperation between Satan and human nature that they heard from the pulpit or read in printed sermons.

Expositions of the depravity of man could not have been pleasant things for parishioners to hear.[108] Still, the emphasis on human corruption during discussions of Satan served three distinct pedagogical purposes. First, by explicitly connecting human weakness to the actions of Satan, ministers buttressed one of the central doctrines of Protestant theology. To fully grasp the doctrine of double predestination, a marked change from salvation by good works, Scots needed to understand *why* they were unable

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[105] Archibald Johnston of Wariston, "Diary", in *Protestant Piety in Early Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712*, ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish history Society, 2008), 44.
[106] James Nimmo, *The Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo,* 9.
[107] Wod. Qu. LXXXII, .f. 159.In this description of this folio he is described as the "parish catechist", which traditionally describes a Catholic position in the community. However, in a letter by Locke found in the same Wodrow volume, he admonished the episcopacy of the English church and wrote a treatise in favor of federal theology and predestination. Clearly, he was a Presbyterian, and likely the label of "parish catechist" meant that he was a religious teacher in the community.
[108] Tellingly, Englishman Sir Anthony Weldon wrote in 1617 that all Scottish sermons were "nothing but railing." In *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown (New York: 1970), 100.

to achieve salvation by their own actions. Ministers sought to reify theoretical discussions of the spiritual malaise of man by pointing to specific, more tangible acts of the devil. Temptation to sin was something relatable for the vast majority of Scots. In explaining that Satan was the source of this temptation, and that he acted through innate human corruption, ministers killed two birds with one stone, as both the nature of Satan and of man were clarified through these discussions.

Second, by informing their audiences that man was spiritually infirm, ministers reiterated the importance of relying on both God and the kirk for deliverance. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Scottish ministers came under fire from erastian monarchs and internal factions. By insisting that Scots needed both God and his Word to achieve spiritual peace, ministers solidified their own place in a tumultuous society. They provided, above all else, a link to divine will, thanks to their exceptional command of the Bible.[109] Last, if Scottish men and women wondered why they struggled so much with temptation to sin, these sermons informed them that they needed to look no further than in the mirror for the answer. Ministers emphasized human sinfulness in hopes that their parishioners would do just that. As one sermon put it, "Christians should be full of eyes within to examine themselves and to see their own corruptions. There are many who have eyes without to take notice of other peoples carriage, but they have no eyes to look within to themselves."[110] The sermonic discussions of human depravity thus championed an internal, introspective turn that ministers hoped would result in a more pious, self-aware population. Judging by seventeenth-century Scottish spiritual diaries, which abound with

[109] A similar point is made in Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 362.
[110] Gray, *Directions and Instigations*, 113.

discussions of Satan acting through the "evil hearts" of men and women, these sermons succeeded in changing both personal belief and identity.[111]

The Promise of Victory

Warnings about Satan, anxieties about the Apocalypse, and lamentations of man's sad spiritual state resounded from pulpits throughout early modern Scotland. Yet amidst these bleak messages stood the foundational Reformed Protestant idea that the elect would eventually emerge victorious. Because salvation was predetermined, nothing the devil did could thwart God's holy plan. David Willingham explained to his congregation in the late seventeenth century that the death of Christ had given "the Devill a dead stroke…He has destroyed him, that had the power of death, that is the Devill. He hath broken the Devills armes: He has cut off Goliah's head with his sword…."[112] With the sacrifice of his son and attending salvation for the elect, God eliminated any chance that Satan had to hinder salvation. Reiterating this point in another sermon, Willingham told his audience to take comfort in Christ, even when assaulted by Satan: "It may be the Devill raise a storme on some of your consciences…well, then for your comfort Christ has broken the serpents head…he has spoiled the Devill of all his strength, he has broken the devill's arms: if your conscience be sprinkled by the blood of sprinkling, ye are saved from the destroying Angell."[113] To find solace from the devil, Scots needed to look first to God, and second to their minister, whose reassurances of victory attended the majority of sermonic discussions of Satan.

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[111] See Chapter Seven, below, for further discussion of how the connection between Satan and man's evil heart shaped Scottish identity and experience.
[112] MS 5770, f.60.
[113] Ibid., f. 110.

Though predestination was, at first glance, a discomfiting doctrine, it could also serve the purpose of reassuring individuals and communities that they struggles they faced were not in vain. This was especially true in the context of apocalyptic thought. During the turmoil of the Civil Wars, for example, when the end of the world seemed undeniably at hand, Robert Baillie assured his congregation that at the end of days, the godly "at last in all these have become more then Conquerours, the Devill by the mouth of Christ is chased away from further molesting them, the spots of sinne are washed off, as if they never had been on, the strength of corruption in abated, they are clothed and made Beautiful with the graces of the Spirit."[114] The overall message of apocalyptic hope revolved around the understanding that the devil's actions in the world would ultimately be rendered meaningless, and the faithful would have the last laugh. As John Brown explained:

> No Devils, nor Instruments or Devils there, to molest or tempt us; no inward stirrings of Corruptions there; no Objects to divert there, no lusting of the Eye, no lusting of the Flesh, nor pride of Life, shall be there. That Glory secures the Soul, and seats it beyond the reach of all spiritual Enemies: There, shall Believers be as Princes, Rulers and Conquerors over the World; And there, shall Satan, with all his Devices and Instruments be utterly routed, and eternally shakled under their feet, and shall never more be unloosed.[115]

[114] Baillie, *Satan the Leader*, 7.
[115] Brown, *Christ in believers the hope of glory being the substance of several sermons*.

This assurance of victory rang especially true for the Scottish Covenanters such as Brown, who, after refusing to take the Abjuration Oath at the orders of John Graham of Claverhouse, became a martyr for the covenanting cause in 1685.[116]

In these discussions of eventual victory, ministers again asserted that earthly struggles, especially those against Satan, served as integral pieces of the salvation process. In Scotland, particularly in times of social, political, and religious strife, people craved assurance that these challenges would not detract from their journey to heaven. Michael Bruce, who had faced intense religious persecution under the reign of Charles II, gave a sermon in which he explained that "tribulation is a piece of the paved way to the kingdom of God."[117] He reassured his congregation that "our Master can borrow the Devils wind to guarantee his ship sail the better to the Harbour; Tribulation shall blow us to the kingdom, and shall not blow us by it."[118] It is worth noting in Bruce's sermons and in others the constant use of the words "us" and "we". This communal rhetoric stemmed from the self-identity of these Scottish divines; they believed that they, along with their flocks, were the new Israelites. Asserting Scotland's elect status, in 1661 William Thompson stated that "we shall speak to some things we let the last Day…that he will come again, and we shall say this unto you , that the Lord had never more precious People in Scotland than now he hath…"[119] By maintaining that the elect were a

[116] This oath was produced by the government in 1684, and required that all Scots swear allegiance to the king or be killed.
[117] Bruce, *Soul Confirmation*, 2.
[118] Ibid., 3
[119] William Thompson, *The churches Comfort, or a Sermon on John XVI* (Edinburgh, 1661), 4.

chosen, divinely protected group, ministers created an important sense of community and solidarity amongst their listeners.

Of course, God, and God alone, could ultimately deliver men and women from the assaults of Satan. One sermon elaborated on the idea of tribulation by assuring the listener or reader that "Christ's Lambs have been preserved amidst Devils and Men since Creation, amongst Wolves, *by not human Power and Strength."*[120] Here again ministers sought to drive home both the historical context of godly struggles and the power of divine deliverance. "And therefore, be not dismayed nor discouraged," Alexander Henderson reassured his congregation in 1638, "albeit thou sees thou has no strength of thy own, for where is there strength to be found in any against the devil and the world ? The stoutest natural courage will be overcome by these ; but our strength must be in God allanerly (only)." [121] This emphasis on divine deliverance dovetailed with the idea that, due to their spiritual feebleness, men and women were unable to save themselves.

Sermons emphasized that the godly must not, however, act as passive recipients of divine mercy; rather, they must reach out to God in moments of need. As Zachary Boyd explained in 1628, "troubles make us to crye, bodily afflictions rouse us up to crye: but alas while wee sinne we keepe silence…While Satan is forcing us with his temptations to offend our God, wee often yeelde thereunto without any crye to our God: It is then especially that wee shoulde crye vnto him."[122] After highlighting the problem of human silence in the face of Satan, Boyd advised his Glaswegian parishioners on how

[120] Rutherford, *Trial and Triumph*, 38. Italics are mine.
[121] Henderson, *Sermons*, 464.
[122] Zachary Boyd, *The balme of Gilead prepared for the sicke.*

to apply his words to their lives. "The use of this," he claimed, "is that whensoever wee shall perceive Sathan comming with force for to deflower, or defile our soule Christs *Damsell*, we incontinent crye with all our force unto GOD. *Lord help mee: Lord leade mee not into temptation: O God, prevent mee and keepe me from these snares: bee thou a shelter for mee, and a strong tower from the enemie*."[123] By relating the struggle against Satan to familiar occurrences in life, such as bodily illness, and then providing parishioners with a specific call to God during demonic threats, Boyd reiterated the sovereignty of God and displayed to his audience the utility of sermons and scripture to their daily lives. This is an apt illustration of how discussions of Satan in early modern Scottish sermons served to move parishioners not simply to believe, but to act.

Whether or not these pastoral assurances of salvation and victory actually comforted audiences across Scotland is hard to assess. Along with the comforting descriptions of God's grace and demonic impotence came intense warnings about Satan's assaults on the godly and reprobate alike. The frequency with which ministers aimed to provide assurances of victory to their parishioners seems to indicate that there existed a great deal of fear of the devil and insecurity about personal salvation. In response, ministers attempted to assure their flocks that fears and doubts were, in fact, key indications of godliness. A common refrain of the day was "is the devil angry with thee, then God is at peace with thee."[124] The reprobate, "wholly without Christ, and his Spirit," would fool heartedly believe that "they have an undoubted right unto Glory; And

[123] Ibid. Italics are Boyd's.
[124] Welch, "Upon the Christian Warfare," 145.

so deceives themselves with a vain and ungrounded hope, that all will be well with them at last."[125] The elect, however, were often consumed with doubt and fear.

The godly should not feel alone in their struggles, but they must also strive to overcome them. As John Brown explained mid-century:

> Believers, who have this assured ground of hope, nevertheless improves it not for their comfort and encouragement: But holds themselves up with doubtings and scruples concerning their Right and Inheritance; taking heed to the lying whisperings and temptations of Satan, and so lives in Terrors, sinful Fears and Unbelief, whereby they wrong and grieve the noble Spirit, who hath taken up quarters in their Soul.[126]

Ministers impressed upon their audiences that only God knew his own mind. Who was saved and who wasn't remained ultimately unknowable for humankind. For Scots insecure in their own salvation—and it seems likely that many fell into this category—these assurances may have brought little relief. Still, at least from a pedagogical sense, promises of victory over Satan served a three-fold purpose. First, they reminded the audiences of the foundation of all Reformed theology- the sovereignty of God. Second, these assurances reiterated and reified the doctrine of election. Last, and perhaps most important, promises of victory and eventual relief from Satan lent insecure and faith-confident Scots alike a grander purpose and explanation for their daily struggles.

Conclusion

The success of Reformed Protestantism in Scotland hinged upon the sermon, the most powerful tool for communicating theological ideas of the masses. Teaching doctrine was not enough; ministers were charged with moving their congregations to believe and

[125] Brown. *From Christ in believers.* .
[126] Ibid.

behave like good Christians. Discussions of the devil figured prominently in the ministerial efforts to explain theology to the laity, as Satan was not a new character for early modern Scots. By conveying the complexities of Reformed theology, such as predestination, the depravity of man, and the sovereignty of God through discussions of the devil, ministers clarified and reified theology for ordinary people.

Beyond the theological purposes of such discussions, the prominence of Satan in Scottish sermons also reflects a concern for the devil amongst the laity. Minsters were not only beholden to the institutions of the kirk. They were also charged with meeting the spiritual needs of their parishioners, who had a surprising amount of agency in selecting their ministers.[127] Equally important, ministers consistently cooperated with the lay elders of the kirk session in enforcing moral discipline throughout Scottish parishes. Far from being distant from the needs of their congregations, ministers were heavily invested in the day to day activities and concerns of ordinary Scots. The fact that Satan remained a central feature of sermons throughout the seventeenth century demonstrates that parishioners desired to hear more about the devil. Even if they did not express this desire explicitly, the immense popularity of preachers like John Welch, Samuel Rutherford, and John Livingstone, whose sermons contain frequent discussions of the devil, indicates a widespread and vested interest in the activities of Satan.

Perhaps most importantly, by focusing on the devil in their sermons, ministers instilled their audiences with a strong sense of individual and communal identity and responsibility. Communities came together through the very act of attending a sermon.

[127] See Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 361-401.

Preaching about Satan reinforced this collective identity—in both a local and a national sense— by expounding on shared turmoil, responsibility, and eventual victory. On a personal level, sermonic discussions of the relationship between the devil and human depravity profoundly shaped the internal lives and self-perceptions of Scots of all sorts. This influence of Satan on individual and communal identity would inform the society and culture of early modern Scotland in a surprising number of ways.

Chapter Three: In the Pews

In the summer of 1680 James Anderson, a sailor in Fife, was reported to have been toasting the devil's health while at sea. According to several of his shipmates, while the men were drinking one evening, Anderson raised his glass to the devil and did "most horribly curse and swear so that the companie wer afraid to hear him."[1] Shocked at hearing his demonic toast, the other men asked "Are ye not afraid that evil spirit [will] take yow away?" Anderson replied "I love him, therefore I'll drink to him," after which he threw his drink down and defiantly bade the devil "take that." The Aberdour kirk session, the local ecclesiastical court, strongly rebuked Anderson for his blasphemous words. He refused to acknowledge the sinfulness of his actions, and the session referred him to the higher court of the presbytery for punishment.[2]

This case raises a few crucial questions: Why would Anderson speak so blasphemously about the devil? Was he drunk, speaking in jest, or challenging official doctrine? What do his words, and the frightened reactions of his shipmates, reveal about the cultural role of the devil in Scotland? Amidst the frequent cases of fornication, defamation, and interpersonal violence, the kirk session records are littered with details of how ordinary Scots like Anderson invoked the devil to harm their neighbors, express personal grievances, and rebel against the kirk. This chapter explores when, why, and how Scottish men and women invoked or commanded the devil in their daily lives and

[1] Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland (NAS), Kirk Session Records, CH2/3/1 f.146; all further records in this chapter beginning in CH are Kirk Session or Presbytery Records from the NAS. See the bibliography for further details and dates of the records listed here.

[2] The outcome of this case is unknown, as the presbytery records are not extant.

asks what this demonic language reveals about belief in the devil in early modern Scotland. This chapter argues that the frequency and variety with which the devil appears in the kirk session records display that these Scots believed fervently in a palpable devil, one who could be experienced physically, mentally, and spiritually. Satan was the concern not only of theologians and the educated elite. Ordinary Scots actively sought to understand, and thus contributed to, evolving ideas about the devil.

Previous studies of demonic belief in early modern England and Continental Europe have focused almost exclusively on what educated men believed about the devil.[3] Stuart Clark, in his influential *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe,* examines a remarkable number of printed sources, primarily theological treatises, to demonstrate that the study of Satan and his legions, known as demonology, was a central and influential part of early modern European intellectual and religious thought. Clark is not, however, concerned with the beliefs of the uneducated. In their works on belief in the devil in post-Reformation England, Darren Oldridge and Nathan Johnstone broaden the study of formal demonology by analyzing sermons, literary works, plays, and printed pamphlets intended for the masses. Though these sources should not be dismissed as isolated from beliefs of ordinary men and women, they were composed by

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[3] Such studies include: Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000); Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jonathan Pearl, *The Crime* of *Crimes*: *Demonology and Politics in France, 1560-1620 (*Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999); Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). See my introduction, above, for further discussion of these works.

literate elites, and thus the window they provide into the beliefs of uneducated people is indirect and clouded.

This scholarly focus on primarily printed sources and elite voices has been due, of course, to the paucity of written records left by ordinary early modern men and women. Johnstone explains that "the vast majority of the population of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England have left no record at all of their demonological beliefs. It is simply impossible to say with any certainty to what extent the Devil played a significant role in the lives of those who either lacked the education or the inclination to record their experiences."[4] Through the use of Scottish court records, however, the beliefs and cultural practices of ordinary early modern men and women can be unearthed.[5] Demonic belief in Scotland is no exception, and historians must look beyond the obvious sources for religious ideas— the sermons, spiritual diaries, and theological writings of educated men— in order to assess the demonological ideas of ordinary people.

The Kirk Session

Though the Scottish Reformation was at times gradual and unsteady, by the late sixteenth century the majority of the Scottish population had become Reformed Protestants committed to the creation of a godly society— even if this goal was never completely achieved.[6] This religious transformation came and went with remarkably little bloodshed. In Scotland, only twenty or so Protestants and a couple of Catholics died

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[4] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 25.

[5] This importance of court records for understanding the beliefs of ordinary, uneducated people is exemplified by Margo Todd's *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[6] For a discussion of the success of the Scottish Reformation, and scholarly debates on this topic, see Chapter One, above

because of religious violence. In England, conversely, nearly 300 Protestants became martyrs under Mary Tudor, and more than 200 Catholics were killed under Elizabeth.[7] How was this Reformation achieved with minimal violence and marked success amongst the Scottish people? The answer, as discussed in Chapter One, lay in large part with the establishment of local ecclesiastical courts known as the kirk sessions.

The hallmark of Reformed polity in Scotland, the kirk session was established in Scotland following the Protestant Reformation and charged with enforcing moral order and implementing discipline in local communities.[8] Historians generally estimate that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, eighty percent of the thousand or so parishes in Scotland had established kirk sessions.[9] The main concern of the session was, of course, issues of sin and morality.[10] Under these categories, the session arbitrated a wide array of disputes, including fornication and adultery, swearing and blasphemy, and drinking on

[7] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 2.

[8] On the history and function of these kirk sessions, see also Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Michael. F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: Godly Discipline and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (NY: Leiden, 1996); Lesley M. Smith, "Sackcloth for the Sinner or Punishment for the Crime: Church and Secular Courts in Cromwellian Scotland" in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer, Roger Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1982), 116-132.

[9] Todd speculates that this number may be too conservative. See *Culture of Protestantism*, 8.

[10] Some of these "moral crimes" were also considered criminal, the most important of these being witchcraft, which was made a criminal offense in 1563. On the witchcraft act of 1563, see Julian Goodare, "The Scottish Witchcraft Act of 1563," *Church History*, 74 (2005): 39-67. Blasphemy also became a crime as well as a sin in 1661. For a discussion of the categorization of blasphemy, see Michael F. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 33-36. Due to the overlap of religious and secular offenses, the kirk session was in constant dialogue with criminal courts. Moreover, both civil and church courts shared a vested interest in the moral and social discipline of Scottish society. Sins in the eyes of God were also often problems for the state. On this point, see Smith, "Sackcloth for the Sinner," 123.

the Sabbath day. Punishments for these crimes ranged from fines and public humiliation to excommunication.[11]

Usually consisting of a minister and between a dozen and twenty-five lay elders, the sessions convened at least one and as many as four times a week. Elders represented a variety of social positions, from landholders and farmers in rural areas to elite merchants and artisans in towns.[12] The session, because it included both ministers and influential laymen, occupied a unique position as an intermediary between ecclesiastical and secular justice.[13] Moreover, by recruiting people from all levels of society to participate in the kirk, the sessions imbued the community with a more vested interest in the success of the enterprise of Protestant reform. These kirk sessions, coupled with the frequent sermons whose attendance they enforced, were pivotal to making Scots Protestant—not just in name, but belief and personal identity.

The minutes of the kirk session give a voice to ordinary Scots whose beliefs about the devil were not recorded elsewhere. Most members of a Scottish community could expect to appear before the session as a defendant, an accuser, or a witness over the course of a lifetime.[14] As such, the minutes of the Scottish kirk sessions provide the

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[11] On session punishments for crimes, particularly the punishment of public repentance, see Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 38-39, 127-182.

[12] On the meetings and make up the sessions, see Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 9-11, and Ian Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 135.

[13] For more on the division between secular and ecclesiastical crimes, see Smith, "Sackcloth for the Sinner or Punishment for the Crime" and Stephen J. Davies. "The courts and the Scottish Legal System 1600-1747: The Case of Stirlingshire", in eds. V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker, *Crime and the Law: the Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1980), 120-154.

[14] See Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 8-23.

historian a unique opportunity to recreate the demonic beliefs of those uneducated Scots who filled the pews of the kirks, frequented the alehouses, farmed the fields, shopped the streets, and took their grievances to court. Of course, the words that appear in the session minutes were filtered through the ears of the session elders and the hand of the session clerk and must be approached with some caution.[15] This mediation of speech does not mean, however, that the voices that emerge from the session are inauthentic. As Margo Todd explains, depositions were often read back to the deponents, who then had to sign them for accuracy. It is doubtful that these Scots would have signed statements that greatly distorted their words. Furthermore, the language of the session itself and the language of the deponents differ markedly, suggesting "a significant degree of authenticity for the latter."[16]

It would be nearly impossible, and not particularly useful, to conduct a thorough statistical analysis of references to the devil in the kirk sessions. This is due to a variety of reasons, the first and most crucial being that many session records, particularly those from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, are no longer extant. The number of surviving minute books greatly increases as one moves forward in time. Though it may appear that the use of demonic language was greater in the latter half of the seventeenth century, this is at least partially due to the survival of the records. Second, kirk sessions often changed clerks after a few years, and some were much more interested in recording

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[15] See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*: *Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1987). In her analysis of French crime tales, Davis contends that historians must be cognizant of the fictionalized elements of archival sources, for these "fictions" and the way people told their stories can reveal much about the culture of the past.

[16] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 19.

detailed language than others. In many session records, it seems that only when the reported language was especially egregious, as in the invocation of the devil or the slandering of the session elders, did the clerk put the exact words of the case on paper.[17] Thus, because of the combination of both detailed and fragmentary cases in the session minutes, a statistical analysis of references to the devil would be both difficult and likely unrepresentative of historical reality.

These caveats aside, the research conducted here does reveal a few important chronological and regional patterns. For this chapter, I have examined in depth the minutes from over seventy different kirk sessions and presbyteries selected from rural and urban areas in both the Lowlands and Highlands, the records ranging in date from 1559-1750.[18] These records, because of their variety in date and location, provide a representative snapshot of the use of demonic language found in the voluminous kirk session minutes. Based upon these records, the use of demonic language appears most commonly in the minutes from Lowland kirk sessions during the second half of the seventeenth century.

One of the reasons for this geographical distribution is that there were simply more people in the Lowlands and thus more kirk sessions to keep such minutes. The types of cases in which references to the devil were likely to occur—those of

[17] For example, the minutes of the Duffus kirk session from 1648-1690 recorded frequent instances of Scottish men and women called before the session for "miscalling the name of God," but no details of what specifically was said were ever recorded. Similarly, the Kilconquhar kirk session recorded between the years of 1637 and 1666 many episodes of "cursing and swearing", but fails to spell out what any of these curses were. See CH2/96/1 and CH2/210/1-2.

[18] Of these, in my bibliography I have listed some fifty kirk session and presbytery records, mostly manuscript but some printed, that included examples of the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the records that include discussions of the devil, but rather what I hope is an illustrative sample of how Scots of all sorts throughout Scotland referenced the devil in their daily lives.

interpersonal, verbal conflict— were also less likely to be reported and recorded in the Highlands, where the population density was significantly lower. Chronologically, as the seventeenth century progressed, the sessions grew better equipped to both compose and maintain records. The most vigorous periods of session activity occurred during the coventanting years from 1640-1652, during the years immediately following the Restoration in 1660, and from 1695 to 1705.[19] These regional and chronological patterns notwithstanding, the kirk session minutes consulted here reveal a marked consistency in how ordinary Scottish men and women spoke about the devil in their daily lives, indicating a shared belief in and concern for Satan's earthly activities.

The Devil and Interpersonal Conflict

References to the devil appear in kirk session records only if they were heard and relayed to the court by either a witness or another person directly involved in the reported case. Accordingly, demonic words uttered publicly during interpersonal conflicts most often reached the ears of the session. These conflicts usually played out in one of two ways: the act of "flyting," a Scottish word denoting verbal scolding between two parties, and cursing, when only one party was heard verbally assaulting another. Very often, flyting and cursing occurred in public spaces— on the high street, outside the church, or at a neighbor's house— and were thus highly visible acts that attracted the attention of gossips and the kirk session alike. During such cases, ordinary Scots called upon the devil to harm their fellow townsfolk, physically and spiritually. Those on the receiving end of these demonic threats, curses, and insults came before the kirk sessions to angrily

[19] See Philip Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 470.

report hurtful words, occasionally expressing fright over the implications of demonic language. Offended witnesses often reported to the kirk session that they had heard someone "curse horriblie by the devil," offering their testimonies to confirm reports and accusations.[20]

It is in these cases of flyting and cursing that the devil most often appears in the pages of the session minutes. Scots usually commanded the devil to physically assault another, with common curses including the imperatives "Divell breake your legge", "divil ding out your harns [brains]," and the devil rip you up.[21] Both men and women uttered curses and ill-wishes. Men most often threatened direct physical violence, while women tended to hope or demand that ill would befall their adversaries through non-human means such as the demonic intervention.[22] In 1658, an angry Elizabeth Spittall, feeling she had been deceived by unidentified townsfolk, publicly asked the devil to "tak the lyars and fiend blow them up in the aire."[23] A pregnant Janet Walker reported to the Old Kirk kirk session in 1656 that Margaret Henrysone had "bade the devill ryve [tear] my wombe whither I was with bairne or not."[24] Henry Wilson was convicted in 1659 of

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[20] See, for example, CH2/150/1 f. 181. In this case, overseen by the Ferryport-on-Craig kirk session in 1658, William Edisone reported to the session that John Walker had "bad him hang himself and wisht the divell that the house were in his womb." The witness Margaret Embry confirmed the accusation, and declared that Walker "cursed horriblie by the divell & prophaned god's name." Walker appeared before the session, drunk, and was rebuked by the session for his blasphemous words.

[21] CH2/11/1 f.105; CH2/124/1 f.173-7; CH2/225/1 f.81

[22] See a further discussion of this in John G. Harrison, "Women and the Branks in Stirling, c. 1600-c.1730." *Scottish Economic and Social History* 18 (1998): 114-31.

[23] CH2/315/8 f. 44. For this outburst, Spittall was rebuked publicly the next Sabbath day.

[24] CH2/133/1 f. 57. Both Henrysone and Walker, who had been feuding for some time, were sharply rebuked by the minister and told that if "ever they war hard in such ane scandal heirafter they should be referred to the Baillie to be punished to his pleasour and was dismissed."

saying to Gissell Dryburt, "the devill put you head in a tether" (a rope used to restrain animals).[25]

Ordinary Scots called on the devil to do mental and spiritual harm as well. Marion Leach was convicted in 1661 of bidding the devil to "rugg the soul out of Elspeth Sympson."[26] In 1668, the Lenzie Easter kirk session near Glasgow heard the case of Janet Wallace, who was accused of pushing her elderly father to the ground and wishing him spiritual demise by bidding "the devil tak him away for she had not a father."[27] On occasion, the more violent of these cases found their way into the records of the Privy Council, as in the case of Isobel Muretoun versus Patrick Lindsay. Lindsay reported to the Council in March of 1632 that Muretoun had "shamefullie railed upon him" in the public market of Edinburgh, calling him "menswome dog, perjured theefe of all theeves… tratour to God and man."[28] Muretoun then wished for "the heavie vengeance of God to be powred out upon him and all his, that the devill would take him both soul and bodie," and finished her rant by threatening to "washe her hands in his heart blood and to burne him and all his hous."[29] The request for divine vengeance and demonic assaults, coupled with a rather colorful threat of physical harm, likely explains why a local kirk session referred this case to the Privy Council.

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[25] CH2/24/1 f. 63. Punishment for this case is not specified.

[26] CH2/276/4 f. 55. Leach denied that she invoked the devil to "rugg" (meaning to pull forcibly) out of Elspeth Sympson, but confessed that she had "bad the ill man rug it out." The session, because of the "ambiguousness of the word ill man," called upon more witnesses to confirm the story, and Leach was eventually publicly rebuked before the congregation.

[27] CH2/237/1 f. 24. Janet Wallace was called before the session, and though she denied the crime, she was sentence to public repentance before the pulpit.

[28] *Records of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1630-32*, 2nd series, 4 vols., eds. D. Masson and P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1899-1906), iv.427.

[29] Ibid.

Some of the more serious demonic invocations were specifically directed at the session minister or elders, who often served on the session for many years as disciplinary figures. As such, the ministers or elders were not always the most popular members of the community, but their position on the session nonetheless commanded a certain level of respect. To ill-wish one of these men using demonic language was an assault to his communal authority and godliness.[30] Agnes Wallas was accused in 1646 of abusing one of the Edinburgh session elders by saying "the devill drawe his puddings & guttes downe through his legges, and feet," for which she was referred to the presbytery for punishment.[31] In 1654 the Newburgh kirk session summoned an obstinate Henry Beat for cursing and making "blasphemous speeches" while publicly drunk.[32] When the local minister had tried to end a game of dice, Beat said to him, "what the divel have ye to doe with our playing, since it is not upon the saboth day?" Growing increasingly agitated, Beat then cursed the minister, calling upon the devil to "pull his guts out at his broad side." Witnesses confirmed the story, and the session ordered Beat to appear before the

[30] The fact that demonic language could be used to insult figures of authority appeared in a satirical broadside published in Scotland in the early twentieth century. The broadside enumerated rules and regulations "for the purpose of putting down all forms of sin and vice." One of the rules satirically imposed on the Scottish community read: "Any man or woman heard using strong language in the presence of a Policeman, such as 'Pip! Pip!' 'Sugar and Tongs,' or, 'Go to the Devil!' shall be immediately proclaimed a dangerous lunatic; and the said policeman shall have the power of ordering a straight jacket, so that the said offender may be taken off to a padded room." Clearly, the use of such demonic language, though it likely meant something quite different to a more modern audience, had remained imprinted in Scottish culture as a common insult. The extreme reaction by authorities to such language was here the subject of ridicule intended to provoke laughter in readers all too familiar with harsh Scottish discipline. See NLS Broadside, *By Royal Command* (Edinburgh, ca.1905-1910).

[31] CH2/383/1 f. 68."Puddings" refers to the bowels, entrails, or guts of a person or animal. A similar case occurred in Dunblane in 1659, when Andrew Kev was convicted of striking his father and bidding the "divell drall his puddings among his feett." See also CH2/101/1 f. 112.

[32] CH2/277/1 f. 51

pulpit to publicly "endure his grief for his blasphemous speeches and his unmanrerly behaviour to the session."[33]

As the above examples of ill-wishes demonstrate, these Scots believed in the devil as a physical being with the power to do bodily harm. In Scotland, as in England and elsewhere, the Protestant Reformation had shifted the primary threat of the devil from the physical to the internal. Reformers emphasized that temptation and subversion, rather than bodily harm, were the devil's most powerful weapons.[34] In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John Calvin had enumerated these Satan's internal abilities: "For he opposes the truth of God with falsehoods, he obscures the light with darkness, he entangles men's minds in errors, he stirs up hatred, he kindles contentions and combats…"[35] As John Brown warned his congregation in 1660, Scots must beware of the "lying Injections and temptations of Satan" who was "too great a Sophist and Disputer for us."[36]

Despite this emphasis on the mental prowess of Satan, ordinary men and women continued to believe in the physicality of the devil. In the minds of ministers and theologians as well as uneducated Scots, this belief in the material reality of the devil coexisted peacefully with concerns over Satan's internal threats. In fact, ministers commonly described the devil in very physical, tangible ways to reify Satan's

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[33] Ibid., ff. 52-53

[34] See Chapters One, Two, and Four of this dissertation for further discussions of the internal threat of the devil. For a similar change in demonological thought in post-Reformation England, see Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*, and Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England.*

[35] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I.xiv.15.

[36] John Brown, *From Christ in believers the hope of glory being the substance of several sermons* (Edinburgh, 1694) Probably delivered in 1660.

unrelenting, spiritual threat. As one late seventeenth century preacher told his congregation, "Suffer us not to fall into reproach, and the Snare of the Devil, who watcheth for an advantage against us, walking about us as a roaring Lyon, and seeking whom he may devour."[37] In post-Reformation Scotland, notions of a physical devil walking on earth were not divorced from concepts of his psychological arsenal. Rather, the ability to commit physical harm intertwined with, and reinforced, the internal threat of the devil.

Beyond causing specific physical harm to others, ordinary Scots, especially women, seem to have viewed the devil as a general source of revenge and an agent of retribution. In 1660 in Ferryport-on-Craig, Elspet Poutie found that someone had destroyed the plants outside her house. In response, she reportedly "wished the divell to rug them asunder" who had ruined her garden.[38] In Elgin in 1622, Marjorie Bonyman called Grissell Urrall a witch, and Urrall responded that she "would not committ hir caus to God bot to the Devill" in order to seek revenge on Bonyman for her slanderous words.[39] In the highland town of Alves in 1688, Grissell Duff became convinced that her neighbor, Alexander Yarres, had killed her rooster. For this offence, she said to him

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[37] Adv. MS 5.2.6, f.35. This sermon refers to 1 Peter 5:8 "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." (King James Bible, 1611).

[38] CH2/150/1 ff. 211-213. Poutie was reported to have uttered "severall other abominable oaths" and was publicly rebuked for her behavior.

[39] *The records of Elgin 1234-1800,* ed. William Cramond , (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1908), 172. Outcome of this case is unknown.

"as manie crows as her cocke should have given, so mainie Devills take them to hell who killed him."[40]

Occasionally, Scots called upon the devil to raise the dead from their graves in order to settle disputes over property or character. In Carrington in 1664, Agnes Didope was reported to have cursed the deceased Barbara Steill for stealing some cloth from her, saying "devell ring her out of her grave, that she may tell whether shee tooke that cloath or not."[41] Agnes Henderson, in a small village in Fife in 1655, was insulted by Janet Simpson, and in response bid Satan to "swell" Simpson and called her a whore and a thief. Simpson rebutted with "prove it", to which Henderson replied "the devill pull your mother out of the grave and she will prov it."[42] This was a particularly interesting request, in light of the fact that raising the dead was usually understood as a creative power restricted to God.

The fact that more women than men invoked or commanded the devil to avenge wrongs or harm others warrants some discussion. Early modern Scotland was a very hierarchical place; men generally controlled the religious, economic, and political realms, while female power was confined to domestic spaces. Yet as studies of Scotland and

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[40] CH2/11/1 f. 227. For these words, the session sentenced Duff to public repentance before the congregation.

[41] CH2/62/1 ff. 141-143. Though Didope originally denied the accusations, she was convicted based on the testimony of witnesses. The session ordered her to pay a fee and make public repentance.

[42] CH2/150/1 ff. 146-151. This case goes on for some time in the records, and eventually Henderson was ordered to make public repentance before the congregation. Simpson's punishment for flyting is not specified. The next year, the session forbid Henderson to teach school children, indicating that the session considered her a perpetual troublemaker.

Europe have demonstrated, early modern women were rarely passive citizens. [43] They were frequent participants in public disturbances, using their words and even their fists to assert their opinions and grievances.[44] Nevertheless, because they lacked the same political clout or physical prowess as their male counterparts, Scottish women may have been more likely to invoke the devil for aid or revenge because they felt powerless to control or avenge situations themselves. Despite these important gendered aspects of the use of demonic language, the invocation of the devil during interpersonal conflicts should not be seen as a characteristically female act. As the kirk session minutes reveal, many men could also be found spewing commands at the devil in the midst of public disputes. Both men and women who did so faced similar punishments— usually public

[43] For more on how early modern women expressed grievances verbally, in Scotland and beyond, see Elizabeth Ewan, "'Many Injurious Words': Gender and Defamation in Late Medieval Scotland," in *History, Literature and Music in Scotland, 700-1560*, ed. R.A. MacDonald (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2002),163-86; John G. Harrison, "Women and the Branks in Stirling, c. 1600-c.1730." *Scottish Economic and Social History* 18 (1998): 114-31; Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, *Sin in the City : Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland, 1160-1780* (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998); Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue*: *The Politics of Speech in Early New England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); James Farr, Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy, 1550-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Peter Rushton, "Women, Witchcraft, and Slander in Seventeenth-century England," *Northern History*, 18 (1982): 116-32; Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1992).

[44] See Yvonne Galloway Brown and Rona Ferguson, *Twisted sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 2002); Elizabeth Ewan, "Disorderly Damsels? Women and Interpersonal Violence in Pre-Reformaton Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 228 (2010): 153-171.

repentance— for such acts.[45] In early modern Scotland, though women were certainly seen as more likely to serve the devil through witchcraft, both men and women could fall prey to Satan's temptations and assaults. In turn, both genders believed they could invoke the devil to harm their adversaries.

Some Scots went so far as to claim that they would become a servant of Satan in order to avenge a wrong done to them. The Culross kirk session summoned John Westwatter in 1636 for stating that he would "bee content to serve the devil to have amends of James Huton," an apparent enemy. In 1650, the Liberton kirk session received a report that Agnes Aldinston publicly cursed Margaret Reed, saying that "she would be the devills servant to have ane mends of her."[46] The promise to serve Satan for any reason was a particularly upsetting threat for the session and community as a whole. Entering into demonic servitude constituted the definition of a demonic pact, which was both the inversion of a covenant with God and a precondition for witchcraft.[47] While it seems unlikely that the Scots who uttered such threats actually intended to form pact with

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[45] Some historians have insinuated, especially when discussing the prosecution of sexual crimes, that godly discipline in Scotland was "gender-blind." As Michael Graham has written, "by holding individuals— men as well as women—primarily responsible for their own behaviour, [the kirk] mitigated against the maintainance of any double standard in the area of sexual ethics." This equal treatment by the Scottish courts has been challenged by Gordon DesBrisay, who has argued that, because of the belief the women were inherently sources of temptation, the "war on sin was first and foremost a war on women." While this is not a debate to which this dissertation is prepared to contribute, my research does indicate that when it came to the treatment for the use of demonic language, the gender of the accused made little difference to the session. What mattered, it seems, was precisely what was said, the status of the person to whom it was said, and the reputation of the offended, See Michael Graham, "Women and the Church Courts in Reformation-Era Scotland, in eds. E. Ewan and M. Meikle, Women in Scotland, c.1100- c. 1700 (East Linton, 1999), 195-6, and Gordon DesBrisay, "Twisted by Definition: Women under Godly Discipline in Seventeenth Century Scottish Towns," in *Twisted Sisters,* 137-8.

[46] CH2/383/1 f. 90. The Liberton kirk session referred this case to the Edinburgh Presbytery, and Reed was ordered to "mak publick satisfatctione in sackcloth and declare herself penitent before the pulpit" on the next Sabbath day.

[47] On the demonic pact and its role in Scottish witchcraft, see Chapter Six, below.

Satan, their choice of these words in heated moments suggests an understanding of the concept, though perhaps not the severity, of such an act.

That ordinary Scots knew about and perhaps understood the demonic pact is further confirmed by their discussions of the devil in context of witch belief, found most often in cases of flyting and cursing. In 1654, William Dryld reported to the Culross kirk session that Margaret Wither had called him a "witch burd and yt the dewill laid his mark." A witness confirmed this report, saying that she heard Wither call Dryld a "witchburd whose master was the dewill."[48] The kirk regarded this as slander of another person rather than an official accusation of witchcraft, likely based on the reputation of Wither as a trouble-maker and the fact that no evidence of witchcraft was presented. Despite the absence of any witch-trial, this case reveals that all parties involved understood that witches were servants of the devil, and that this servitude could be identified by a mark left on the body by Satan.[49]

Interestingly, allegations of witchcraft only rarely attended the invocation of the devil during a public row. In early modern Scotland, slander could actually counteract accusations of witchcraft in two ways. First, if someone was bold enough to call someone else a witch, they ran the risk of having that accusation thrown back at them. This was thus not an insult used lightly. Second, as this example demonstrates, when a parishioner

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[48] CH2/77/2 f.115. Wither's was privately spoken to by the minister for her words, and once she was made "sensible of her sin", she was sentenced to public repentance. It should be noted that making the defendant "sensible" of his or her sin was constant goal of the session. It wasn't enough for an offender to perform repentance; they needed to be cognizant of the gravity of their words and actions, to prevent future offenses.

[49] These demonic elements of Scottish witchcraft have often been considered elite-imposed beliefs rather than organic ideas of ordinary folks. This complex issue of "popular" versus "elite" belief in demonic witchcraft is explored at length in Chapter Six, below.

with a particularly unruly tongue accused someone of being a witch, the session took his or her reputation into account and rarely pursed the accusation further. In general, the sessions as well as members of the community seem to have been much more concerned with resolving conflicts and keeping communal harmony than with ferreting out who might be a witch based on public outbursts.[50] This helps to explain why, in the cases discussed above, insults and ill-wishes involving witchcraft were simply treated incidents of quarrelling that needed to be resolved for the good of the community.

Satan as an Enforcer and Avenger

Many questions arise from the uses of demonic language in these cases of flyting and cursing. Over and over again, the kirk session minutes reveal the invocation of the devil by ordinary Scots to physically harm an enemy or avenge a wrong done to them. Why did they choose to ask the devil for assistance? Why did some Scots say that they would serve Satan to have revenge on another? Why was the devil, rather than God, asked to raise the dead in order to settle disputes?

It could seem, at first glance, that the invocation of the devil during the aforementioned cases of interpersonal conflict was a mere trope or saying, in the way that a modern person might say "what the devil?" or "oh my God!" in a moment of surprise. Meanings of and attitudes towards speech, however, are historically relative rather than historically constant. In early modern Scotland, it can be safely assumed that virtually every man and woman knew about God and the devil, and indeed fervently believed in the power of both. Unlike the language of slander, ill-wishes invoking the devil were not

[50] That the kirk sessions were concerned, first and foremost, with keeping the peace in their communities has been explored at length by Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 227-264.

particularly formulaic, though certain curses like "devil rive you" and "devil swell you" were more common than others.[51] Because the devil appears with such variety and frequency in these cases of flyting and cursing, it seems that ordinary Scots genuinely viewed the devil as an agent of fear and pain. For them, the devil was not merely a functional trope. Through demonic insults, threats, and curses, ordinary Scots actively endowed the devil with profound physical and spiritual powers to punish sin and avenge wrongs.

The devil may seem an unlikely agent of justice, but this role was in fact in accord with theological ideas about Satan. Protestant and Catholic scholars alike were preoccupied with reconciling the evils of the world and the actions of the devil with the sovereignty and goodness of God. God was believed to be incapable of committing evil himself, and the popular term "God's Hangman" was given to the devil to denote his role as enforcer of divine justice, as God's agent of wrath. As Calvin wrote in 1539, "Satan is the minister of God's wrath, and as it were the executioner, so he is armed against us, not through the connivance, but by the command of his judge."[52] Reformed Protestants believed that God willed the devil to enact certain evils against both the reprobate and the

[51] On the formulaic language of slander in Scotland, see Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 240-1.

[52] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (1539), trans. Rev. John Owen. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), 77.

godly, including physical harm.[53] Satan was, as John Knox called him, "an executer of God's will," and thus could be viewed avenger on earth.[54]

This is not to say that the Scots who invoked the devil to harm others were doing so primarily because they understood the nuances of theodicy and the complex theological role of the devil. From the session minutes, however, it is clear that ordinary Scots cited the devil in public spaces and personal interactions more often than they did God. For these men and women, the devil was a much more tangible, physical, and even accessible figure than God. Through death, war, famine, and the like, they felt the earthly presence of Satan acutely and often. As ministers told the Scottish people in frequent sermons, the devil was ubiquitous and untiring.[55] To quote the minister Hugh Anderson, "Satan is allwayes resisting, going to and fro using all indeavores for marring and retarding the work."[56] There was thus a quotidian nature to the devil in Scotland. This did not render Satan less dangerous or less of a concern for ordinary Scots. Yet as one historian has put it, Satan in early modern Scotland was "more effective disguised in domesticity than disgust."[57] Scots did not dare to order around God in the midst of quarrels and rants. The devil, however, could serve in these domestic and daily situations

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[53] See Chapter One, above, for a thorough analysis of the theological discussion about the powers of the devil and his relationship to God.

[54] John Knox, *An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and aduersarie to Gods eternal predestination* (Edinburgh, 1560).

[55] See Chapter Two, above, for a discussion of the role of Satan in early modern Scottish sermons.

[56] MS 8483, 23v.

[57] Joyce Miller, "Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early Modern Scottish Witchcraft Discourse," *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotlan*d, ed Julian Goodare, 154. Miller made this argument in a discussion of the demonic descriptions found in witchcraft are far from monstrous or frightening. Rather, the accused recounted appearances of the devil in a matter-of-fact fashion, far removed from the now popular image of the hellish red-beast with horns. For more on the quotidian nature of the devil, see Chapter Six, below.

as an intermediary to divine justice. It seems, then, that ordinary Scots understood the devil to be a more likely and responsive avenger because demonic presence was a consistent, experiential presence in their lives.[58]

Blaspheming by the Devil

Perhaps the most intriguing references to the devil found in the kirk session minutes appear in cases of blasphemy. Blasphemy was not made an official criminal offense in Scotland until 1661, when the Privy Council passed a statute that made the "horrible cryme of blasphemy" punishable by death. [59] However, this statute was little used, and cases of blasphemy continued to be tried by the sessions, which usually doled out public repentance or fines as punishments to the disruptive blasphemers.[60] The kirk sessions considered wicked words as "blasphemous" when someone went beyond usual curses by uttering subversive and sacrilegious statements that questioned the authority of the kirk as well as God.[61] There was, of course, much overlap with other categories of offense: some Scots were convicted of "cursing and blasphemous speech", some of "profaning and blaspheming," and others simply of "blasphemy." Despite inconsistent

[58] On the experience of Satan in early modern Scottish lives, see Chapter Four, below.

[59] See Graham, *Aikenhead*, 33-36.

[60] It was not until the General Assembly of 1694 that ministers began to call for the 1661 statute, and the sentence of death, to be applied to blasphemers.

[61] It is interesting to consider that technically, because Reformed theology asserted that the devil was under the absolute control of God, invocations of the devil to do anything at all could be characterized as blasphemy, since this presumed to have abilities and judgments that were relegated in Deuteronomy 28:15-20 "to the wisdom of God alone." This was not, however, a definition consistently employed by the session. For a historical discussion of blasphemy in Scotland, see Michael F. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), esp. Chapter Two; in Europe, see David Nash, *Blasphemy in the Christian World: a History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Alain Cabantous, *Blasphemy: Impious Speech in the West from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth century*, trans Eric Rauth, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Francisca Loetz, *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

terminologies and definitions, a trend exists in the cases labeled as blasphemy: unlike flyting and cursing, blasphemies were usually directed broadly at the kirk or at no one in particular, serving as general statements of frustration, distrust, or rebellion against the judgments and doctrines of the kirk. In discussing the use of demonic words in blasphemy cases— which I have loosely termed "blaspheming by the devil"— I have generally utilized the labels employed by the kirk sessions themselves.

Ordinary men and women most commonly made blasphemous references to the devil in order to defy the Kirk. In these cases, Scots went beyond typical insults or demonic curses by publicly questioning the spiritual authority and communal worth of the kirk and the session. In the first years of the Reformation, some Scots invoked the devil to protest the transformation of the formerly Catholic kirk. In St. Andrews in 1559, where some of the earliest reform measures took place, John Lawe expressed his frustration at being debarred from communion by publically exclaiming "the Divell knok owt Johne Knox harness (brains), for, quhen he wald see him hanget, he wald get his sacrament."[62] That same year, another St. Andrews resident, William Petillok, was convicted of saying "The Divell cayre (rake up) the kyrk!"[63] The words of these two men revealed knowledge of and dissatisfaction with certain consequences of the Reformation. Both men reached for demonic language to express these sentiments and to publically challenge the authority of the kirk.

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[62] *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register 1559-1600* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1889), i.36. It is unclear precisely why Lawe had been debarred from the Lord's Supper, but based on his subsequent comments it seems that he had been resistant to the practical reforms that were being implemented at St. Andrews.

[63] Ibid. The minutes did not specify the session's punishment for these two men, but presumably they were strongly rebuked for their words, made to perform public repentance and possibly pay a fine.

The use of demonic language to blaspheme the kirk continued throughout the seventeenth century. In 1661, Katherine Wood was accused of calling a neighbor's mother a witch and bidding another to "Goe hang your selfe and ryd to France with your gooddame (wife)."[64] She was deemed by the session a "slanderer," told to pay a fee, and ordered to stand on the stool of repentance. To this final punishment, Wood defied the session by saying, "the devill a bitt she would stand, and the devill let her never stand more." For her insubordination, on the next Sabbath day she was sentenced to stand in the jougs, an iron neck collar chained to the kirk wall or door, between the time that the second and third kirk bell rang.[65]

A similar fate befell David and Gillies Murdowe in Fife in 1656, when a witness reported that she had heard them drunkenly making blasphemous statements about the kirk session. Specifically, she heard Gillies Murdowe say she "wold not give a strawe for the session and for all yt were in it", and David Murdowe said "the divell be in the sessione." The session, "considering that ryott, drunkennesse, swearing, shameless scolding, and reproachfulle speaking the sessione," appointed them both to stand in sackcloth in the jougs in order to repent for "their griveous sines."[66] The jougs, an uncomfortable and humiliating form of repentance, seems to have been primarily reserved for those who blatantly rebelled against kirk's authority by blaspheming.

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[64] *Rothesay Parish Records: The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750* ed. and trans., Henry Paton (Edinburgh: Bute Scottish Record Series, 1931), 48.

[65] Ibid.

[66] CH2/150/1 f. 113. This case was officially labeled as "flyting," but that the session refers to the Murdowes' actions as "blasphemous" in the text of the minutes.

Scots also referenced the devil in order to publicly question the salvation of their adversaries. According to Reformed theology, God—and God alone— knew who was saved and who was damned.[67] As Calvin and others had averred, man ought to accept the realities and justice of election and reprobation without extensive questioning, for it was "indeed in reality a labyrinth, from which the mind of man can by no means extricate itself."[68] Speculations about the salvation of another in moments of anger were considered by the kirk to constitute accusations of reprobation and presumptions of divine knowledge and were thus treated as cases of blasphemy rather than of cursing or flyting. In Rothesay in 1686, for example, Gillies Crawford reported that Margaret M'lachlan had said to her that "she was the devills childe and that her father was so too, that she and her father had Satans image and resemblance, that the soul of her father was in hell and that her black soul would be there too."[69] Though M'lachlan confessed to these statements and displayed shame for "very unchristian abuse of the memory of the dead and reputation of the living," the session did not take this accusation of reprobation lightly. Finding M'lachlann's actions "exceeding odious," she was sent to the civil judge for punishment, along with her receipt of the usual sentence of public repentance.[70]

Similarly, it was deemed blasphemous to mock the issue of salvation more generally. One such account comes from the parish of Gretna, where the minister John

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[67] See Chapter One for a more extensive discussion of predestination and the sovereignty of God in relationship to demonic belief.

[68] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (1539), trans. Rev. John Owen. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), 353. Beza, too, had echoed this unknowability of salvation when he wrote that the reasons behind and means of predestination out were "to be left unto God." See Theodore Beza, *Propositions and Principles of Divinity* (Edinburgh, 1591).

[69] *Session Book of Rothesay*, 63-64.

[70] Ibid., 64.

Wylie reported in 1686 that a local miller named John Bizney had jeeringly asked a pious neighbor woman, who was on her way to hear a sermon, to observe if "the Devill had gotten his soul yet."[71] Shortly after, Sizney was seized by a terrible sickness "unto death," interpreted by the kirk and community as divine punishment for his mockery of the sacredness of salvation. According to Bizney's neighbors, in his deathbed he cursed frequently and would have only brandy to drink. Wylie concluded this cautionary tale of blasphemy with the statement that Bizney "was much what in his death, what he was in his life, terrible and unpleasant."[72]

On occasion, sessions convicted a blasphemer for directly and audaciously questioning key religious doctrines. As surprising as these blasphemous words seem to the modern eye, they must have been infinitely more shocking and frightening to early modern ears. A prime example of this occurred in Elgin in 1602, when John Nauchtie was convicted of "speiking blasphemeis agains God's ministrie, saying that the devill had as great power as God, and that they who served him were in as good case as they who served God."[73] To say that the power of the devil equaled that of God denied the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, which underpinned the entire theology of Reformed Protestantism. The Elgin kirk session ordered Nauchtie to pay a penalty and stand three days in sackcloth, with the warning that he would be banished from the parish if he committed the offense again.

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[71] Wod. Qu. XXXVII, f. 78r.
[72] Ibid.
[73] *The Records of Elgin*, 102.

The act of drinking to the devil's health was another of the more scandalous acts of blasphemy. This chapter began with the example of James Anderson's toasting the devil while at sea and the frightened reaction of his shipmates. While a fascinating and unusual case in many respects, Anderson's demonic salute was not an isolated event. Though uncommon compared to invocation of the devil in cases of interpersonal conflict, cases of drinking to the devil's health are scattered throughout the Scottish historical records. In 1677, for example, the minister of Carnwarth reported that various members of his parish had been seen "drinking to the devils good health."[74] Punishments for drinking to the devil's heath ranged from repentance before the congregation to public beatings to banishment.

Drinking to the devil's health was such a serious offense that sometimes kirk sessions felt unable to adequately punish the blasphemer and deferred to the secular courts for harsher sentences. This occurred in 1671, when the Lords of the Court of Justiciary, the supreme criminal court in Scotland, found Marrion M'Caul of Ayr guilty of "drinking the good health of the Devill and all his servantis."[75] She was ordered to be taken from the tollbooth of Ayr to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, where proclamations were made and punishments carried out, "to be scourged (beaten) by the hand of the hangman and commone executioner." Ultimately, M'Caul was banished from the shire of

[74] Wod. Qu. XXXVII, 293r.
[75] *Analecta Scotica. Collections Illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Scotland,* ed. James Maidment, (Edinburgh: Thomas Stevenson, 1837). 167.

Ayr for her blasphemous words, with the warning that should she attempt to return, it would be "under the pains of death."[76]

The sessions viewed the use of demonic words in cases of blasphemy as a direct attempt to subvert the creation of a godly community, as these profanities blatantly questioned both the authority of the kirk and of God. It is impossible to say precisely why some Scottish men and women choose to say, often publicly, irreverent words about the devil. Perhaps they were frustrated by the actions of the kirk sessions, disliked a certain elder, were struggling to understand and express their own beliefs, or were just belligerently drunk. Cases of extreme blasphemy occurred with much less frequency that the invocation of the devil for physical harm or vengeance, and it is thus more difficult to identify clear patterns in such cases. In the absence of documentary evidence, historians can only speculate about why these Scots spoke about the devil in heretical ways. However, these blasphemous words can still help historians to piece together the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots and to demonstrate the cultural import of the devil in Scotland.

Clearly, these blaspheming Scots recognized the precariousness of salvation, the relationship of the devil to damnation, and the division of the world into the camps of good and evil. John Nauchtie, by sacrilegiously stating that the power of Satan equaled that of God and that those who serve the devil are as worthy as the godly, was both demonstrating an understanding and issuing a challenge to the prescribed ideas of election and righteousness. When Margaret M'lachlan said that Gillies Crawford was a child of the devil with a "black soul," this echoed the sentiments of theologians who

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[76] Ibid.

wrote at length on predestination and the eternal conflict between the children of the devil and the children of God. The frightened reaction of those who heard James Anderson toast to the devil's health and asked "Are ye not afraid that evil spirit [will] take yow away?" reveals a common awareness that the Satan was not resting on his laurels in Scotland and was actively seeking to drag the impious to hell; this too was a common theme of seventeenth-century Scottish sermons.

A Reformed Devil?

The above discussion of blasphemy provokes the question of how Reformed ideas about the devil in post-Reformation Scotland influenced the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots. As aforementioned, following the Reformation in Scotland, Satan increasingly became an internal threat, as theologians shifted emphasis from his physical threat to his psychological snares.[77] The seventeenth-century spiritual diaries of the educated elite, the topic of my subsequent chapter, most clearly demonstrate how this shift from the physically intimidating devil to the devil as an internal tempter affected lived experience. These personal accounts abound with tales of spiritual anguish, induced by the unceasing struggle to resist the temptations and illusions of Satan.[78] In sermons, ministers also focused on the power of Satan as a spiritual tempter, even when physically personifying the devil to convey broader messages. For the sessions, the internal assaults of Satan were

[77] This argument has been eloquently made by both Darren Oldridge and Nathan Johnstone in their studies of the devil in early modern England, which are both thoroughly discussed in the introduction.
[78] See, for example, Mistress Rutherford, "Mistress Rutherford's Conversion Narrative." *Scottish History Society, Miscellany xiii*, ed. David G. Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2004), 146-88; Wod. Oct. XXXI; James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842); James Nimmo, *The Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo: Written for his own Satisfaction to Keep in some rememberance the lords way dealing and kindness towards him, 1654-1709*, ed. W.G Scott Moncrieff (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1889); CH12/18/6 Diary of John Forbes of Corse; Ch12/20/9 Religious diary, 1679-1692.

made evident by the seeming abundance of demonically induced sin in early modern Scotland. When John Auchterlouny of West Seaton was convicted of repeated adultery in 1666, for example, a minister of the Presbytery was sent to him to see if it was "possible to recover such a wretch led captive by Satan."[79] We know, as previously discussed, that ordinary Scots often viewed the devil as an agent of physical vengeance; but to what extent did they embrace and even contribute to this post-Reformation emphasis on the devil's psychological, internal threats?

The kirk session minutes indicate that these Reformed ideas about Satan as a tempter did inform the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots, at least to some extent. In the winter of 1600, David Kid reported to the Ferryport-upon-Craig kirk session that Isobell Henderson had called him "Satan," warning him that the "the judgments of God would overtake him" for his actions. When questioned about her words to Kid, Henderson claimed that "Satan was stirring him up to tempt her," an accusation that echoes verbatim some of the contemporary Scottish sermons addressing the dangerous activities of the devil.[80] The National Covenant of 1638 had even used this language in claiming that those opposed to the Presbyterianism of the Scottish kirk had been "stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist."[81] More generally, Scots seemed to understand the devil as a primary cause of sin. In 1630 in Banff, for example, Paul Gregor said to Thomas

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79 CH2/15/1 f. 79

80 CH2/150/1 f. 207. This case had an interesting outcome: Kidd was told by the session to turn the other cheek to Henderson's blasphemous words. Hendersone, who apparently was not short on enemies, was ordered by the session to "goe and be counciled wt all those with whom she was at variance," otherwise she would face harsher punishment. It is also noteworthy that Henderson used the biblical term "Satan" rather than the more common "devil."

81 Church of Scotland, *The National Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms* (Edinburgh, 1660). The National Covenant was signed in 1638 but was not printed in Scotland until 1660.

Scherund that "the Devil was in his pryid" since he had been appointed as a "baillie," a local civic officer.[82] This accusation, deemed "injurious words" by the kirk session, indicates popular knowledge of pride as a demonically induced sin.

When the devil appears in the kirk sessions as a tempter, it can be difficult to assess precisely *who* was expressing this Reformed understanding of the devil. At times, the session obviously prompted and phrased these ideas, as in the case of Rothesay resident Allan Orre. In 1701, Orre confessed to fathering Anna N'Ilmun's illegitimate child. It was recorded that the minister

> represented to him the heinousness of his sin and how great advantage the divel had gotten of him and how loth the divel was to part with any grip he once got and how much he now stood in need to be eminent in his repentance as he was eminent in his sin…At which exhortation the said Allan gave verie good symptoms of remorse and contrition and earnestlie begged both ministers and elders wold pity his fall and employ their moyen at the Throne of Grace for him. At which the Session was verie weil pleased and dismissed him, appointing him to appear in publick before the congregation the nixt Lord's day.[83]

Orre's case, in which the ideas about the devil as a tempter were clearly those of the minister, makes for an interesting comparison to another Rothesay case four years prior. In 1697, Janet Glases gave birth to a child out of wedlock. When interrogated, she revealed that a man named Ferchar M'Ilvray was the father. Confronted before the session, M'Ilvray testified that he was "heartily grived that the divel got such advantage over him, first to make him fall with that woman and again to deny that he was father to her child, which now he owns to be his."[84] Though M'Ilvray's description of the devil

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[82] *The Annals of Banff*, 2 vols, ed. William Cramond, (Aberdeen: The New Spalding Club, 1893), ii.64.
[83] *Session Book of Rothesay*, 101.
[84] Ibid., 124.

gaining advantage over man reflects the language of seventeenth-century Scottish sermons, it is difficult to know if these were his precise words, especially when compared to the latter case of Alan Orre. The kirk likely prompted M'Ilvray to recognize the demonic root of his sin, or perhaps the session clerk recorded his confession in terms that conformed to Reformed ideas. However, this does not mean that the demonic beliefs of M'Ilvray, or Orre for that matter, did not accord with the concept of Satan as a tempter. Because these men would have been an audience to frequent sermons on the topic of demonic temptations, it is likely that they truly believed—or at least came to believe— that the devil had indeed led them astray.

These examples by no means indicate that ordinary Scots adopted Reformed ideas about the devil wholesale, or that the concept of Satan as an internal threat supplanted folk or medieval elements of demonic belief. If anything, these cases display the difficulty in tracing the precise influence of Reformed theology on the demonological ideas of the uneducated. Because the kirk sessions in Scotland were formed after the Reformation, historians of Scotland do not have a comparable source to access the demonic beliefs of ordinary Scots prior to the introduction of Protestantism.[85] As the above examples of demonic language from the St. Andrews kirk session in 1559—one of the earliest extant kirk session records— make clear, the devil was a part of the parlance of ordinary Scots long before the Reformation was in full swing. It is difficult, therefore, to have a complete picture of how Reformed demonology affected the ways in which uneducated Scots understood the role of the devil.

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[85] For a discussion of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical courts, see Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

This precise teasing out of influences should not, however, be the sole aim in seeking to understand the role of the devil in the mentalité of ordinary Scots. Medieval, folk, and Reformed demonological ideas never existed in isolation from one another; they were always in concert, even if this coexistence could be a contentious one for theologians. Accordingly, the persistence of traditional ideas about the devil does not indicate the failure of Protestantism to permeate Scottish society. The eradication of folk or medieval beliefs about the devil does not seem to have actually been a goal of the Reformers.[86] Rather, they wanted people to be thinking about Satan, and this they clearly achieved.

A Transatlantic Devil?

The appearance of the devil in the kirk session records poses a critical comparative question: Are these demonic references, invocations, and commands, publicly uttered by ordinary Scots, unique to Scotland? In the seventeenth century, Scotland was in close cultural contact with two other Protestant domains, England and New England, both of which produced copious ecclesiastical court records. While none have been specifically concerned with demonic belief, many historians have thoroughly explored and analyzed the language of these church court records to answer key questions about early modern crime, gender, and society. Often, these works focus on the use of sexual slander and the language of insult, thus lending themselves to the question

[86] On this point, see Chapter Six, below.

of how demonic language was employed by uneducated folks south of Scotland and across the Atlantic.[87]

In his study of defamation and sexual slander in the early modern York church court records, James Sharpe charts the types of abusive language used in defamation cases. Based on his analysis, it appears that the word "devil" is notably absent from the York records.[88] Similarly, Laura Gowing has utilized church court records to assess how the language and litigation of sexual insult shaped societal notions of sex, gender, and honor in early modern England. In her thorough analysis of these ecclesiastical records, Gowing mentions the devil three times, detailing a demonic invocation in only one instance: In 1611, Felix Chambers beat his wife Anne for what he claimed was "just cause." Chambers reported that he "did…beate or strike the said Anne and curse her and wished the devill to take her…"[89] The historian and anthropologist Alan Macfarlane has explicitely noted the absence of the words "devil" and "evil" in the parish records of Essex, England, "despite very full ecclesiastical and equity court records where people were frequently abusing each other."[90] Of course, as none of these studies are concerned

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[87]Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*; James Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander in Early Modern England: The Church Courts at York* (York: Bothwick Papers no.58, 1980); Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Christopher Haigh, "Slander and the Church Courts in the Sixteenth Century," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 78 (1975): 1-13; Robert St. George, "'Heated' Speech and Literacy in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *Seventeenth Century New England,* eds. David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts Boston, 1984), 275-322.

[88] Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander*, 32.

[89] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 219-220.

[90] Alan Macfarlane, "The Root of All Evil," in *The Anthropology of Evil*, ed. David Parkin (London: Blackwell, 1985), 57-75. Macfarlane suggests— too presumptively, I'd argue— that this indicates that the ordinary English parishioners found little time in their prosaic lives to contemplate the presence and agency of the devil.

with demonic belief in particular, it is possible that references to the devil in cases of sexual slander or general insult were overlooked in favor of other types of language. Yet it bears mentioning that collectively, these studies of the English ecclesiastical court records contain little indication of the use of demonic language in cases of insult and ill-wishing.

This absence of references to the devil in English court records starkly contrasts the findings of the historian Robert St. George in his article on the use of "heated speech" in the ecclesiastical court records of Essex County, Massachusetts. Though he is primarily concerned with the gendered dimensions of insult, in his brief study St. George details multiple references to the devil uttered by Puritan men and women. In the Essex court records from 1640-1680, he identifies seven variant ways to insult someone by calling them a "devil"; for men, the words "black", "foresworn", "Gurley-gutted", and "old" were used to modify the epithet "devil", while women were often called "base devil", "little devil" or "lying devil."[91] Beyond name-calling, St. George also describes in detail some of the demonic language that characterized insults and ill-wishes in New England. In Salem on June 25, 1661, for example, Beatrice Canterbury was accused of abusing her son-in-law with "wicked and reviling speeches." Apparently she believed that he was not a fit husband for her daughter Rebecca, and a witness reported that Beatrice said "the divel should picke his bones before she would owne him to be her son."[92] According to St. George, curses in seventeenth century New England usually

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[91] St. George, "Heated Speech," 320-21.

[92] Ibid., 277-278. See *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 8 vols, ed. George Francis Dow (Salem, MA.: Essex Institute, 1911-1921), ii. 340.

requested that "God visit pestilence on the victim, or that he be taken by the Devil, and sometimes both."[93] While this article was not written to assess belief in the devil, it clearly displays that demonic words played an important role in the "heated speech" of New England daily life.

This discussion of the presence of demonic references in the ecclesiastical court records of England and New England, though necessarily brief, demonstrates marked resemblances between the way ordinary New Englanders and Scots invoked the devil in their daily lives. The court records of England, however, reveal a populace of men and women seemingly less vocal about the devil and his role in their world. This lack of demonic references does not necessarily indicate that the English believed less fervently in Satan, or that demonic ideas held less cultural water in England. Certainly, the self-identified godly in England— the more radical Reformed Protestants— believed that the devil was their active adversary during what they perceived as the end times. However, the similarity of the demonic language found in the court records of New England and Scotland evokes a complex question about the nature of Reformed theology and cultural behavior: What was it about the religious culture of both New England and Scotland— but not England— that led ordinary men and women to publically cite and invoke the devil during interpersonal conflicts?

Without the aid of original research into New England court records, this question is difficult to answer with certainty. A few tentative conclusions, however, can be made based on certain aspects of New England and Scottish religious culture that were lacking

[93] Ibid., 299.

in England. While the two British domains diverged in a wide variety of ways during the seventeenth century, most notably in terms of governance, ecclesiastical structure (congregationalism vs. Presbyterianism), and economics, New England and Scotland nonetheless participated in a shared intellectual and religious culture in which Satan took center stage. In both areas, radical Protestants consistently dominated religious life. These Reformed Protestants desired, above all, to pursue a vigorous program of moral reform during what they believed were the Last Days. This preeminence of Reformed theology and militant apocalypticism ushered the devil to the forefront of religious ideas and aims in Scotland and New England alike.[94] The ecclesiastical court system in both New England and Scotland was the primary agent of reform, and local courts played their part by enforcing church attendance in hopes of creating a thoroughly godly state. Ordinary men and women living in these two areas would have frequented, as a requirement, sermons delivered by zealous Protestant ministers who believed that all their congregations were engaged in a daily struggle against Satan. Accordingly, the devil also played a crucial role throughout the witchcraft trials of New England and Scotland, while diabolism only became a prominent feature of English witch-hunting during the "Puritan moment" of the civil war.[95] In this shared religious atmosphere of Scotland and New England— one of apocalyptic anticipation, intense desire for salvation, and required

[94] On apocalypticism in seventeenth-century New England, see Avi Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For an extended discussion of the relationship between demonic belief and eschatological thought in Scotland, see Chapter One, above.

[95] See Brian P. Levack, *Witch-Hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion*. (New York: Routledge, 2008).The reference to the "Puritan moment" comes from William Hunt's excellent work on the religious underpinnings of the English Revolution, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

communal involvement in a program of reform— the devil seems to have held a central place in the mental world of theologians and ordinary folks alike.

Conclusion

When Janet Meichie and Janet Keller came before the Aberdour Kirk Session on October 6, 1661 for flyting on the Sabbath day, they were made to crave God's pardon on their knees for "breack of Sabbath and spending it so in the devills service."[96] Any act of profane speech was seen as motivated by Satan; in one case of cursing, a man confessed to the kirk "his sin in taking the divell in his mouth."[97] The kirk sessions were accordingly less concerned with correcting the actual demonic beliefs ordinary Scots than with the eradication of subversive speech itself. The sessions, for the most part, overlooked erroneous beliefs in order to focus on any behaviors threatened the stability and godliness of a community. As the historian Robert St. George put it, "speech was a principal sign of the progress in the ongoing battle between God and Satan in which all men were soldiers. It both conveyed the Word of God and belched forth the flames of hell."[98] As such, the very acts of flyting, cursing, and blasphemy posed a spiritual threat to the Scottish public as a whole, representing unrest, conflict, and moral laxity among parishioners and indicating that the devil and his minions were increasingly active on earth. The use of the devil in these cases thus drove a double edged sword into the heart of the kirk's reforming mission: demonic language both disturbed the peace and profaned the sacred, inviting the wrath of God on the entire community.

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[96] CH2/3/1 f. 88
[97] CH2/150/1 f. 171
[98] St. George, "Heated Speech," 321.

In assessing the terse and sometimes perplexing demonic language used by ordinary Scots, a few conclusions can be drawn about belief in the devil across the spectrum of Scottish society. A staunch interpretive barrier should not be artificially placed between the intensely physical devil and the devil endowed primarily with powers of temptation. Sermons and spiritual diaries, along with the kirk session minutes, reveal that these demonic roles were far from mutually exclusive. Nor can historians presume that uneducated beliefs about the devil differed markedly from, and clashed with, the demonological ideas of the educated few. Even though, from a theological perspective, the *threat* of the devil became a more internal one, spiritual diaries reveal that psychological interactions with Satan often had very physical manifestations, such as fevers, shakes, fainting, intense pain, and on rare occasion, possession.[99] Ministers, as aforementioned, continued to deliver sermons to describing the devil as a physical menace. Thus it seems that for Scots of all sorts, the physically dangerous, vengeful devil could also act as Satan the tempter. By the seventeenth century, medieval, folk, and Reformed ideas about the devil had reached a coexistence, albeit a sometimes imperfect and uneasy one. At the ground level, these differing demonic beliefs coincided and informed one another, rendering Satan all the more tangible and terrible in daily life.

Demonic language appears in the kirk session minutes often and in a wide variety of ways, illustrating that ordinary Scots believed deeply in a palpable, dynamic devil, one

[99] See, for example, Mistress Rutherford, "Narrative"; Katharine Collace, "Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises of Mistress Ross" in *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c. 1670-1730, ed. David Mullan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs of James Fraser of Brea" in *Select Biographies,* ed. W.K. Tweedie, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841). The physical consequences of demonic experiences are discussed at length in Chapter Four, below.

who could be experienced physically, mentally, and spiritually. It is would be impossible to say precisely why these Scots invoked the devil in their daily lives through their public interactions with others. In interpreting the words of the past, we in the twenty-first century must keep in mind that the meanings of speech are far from historically constant. Language was an immensely powerful tool in the early modern world, and certainly ordinary Scots knew, at least to an extent, the weight that their demonic words carried. From the pulpit, local ministers waxed on about Satan and his activities on earth. News of witchcraft trials, murders, and political turmoil circulated through parishes, spreading the word that the devil was alive and well in Scotland. Though the Scots in the pews may not have spent their time arguing the finer points of demonology, through their subversive speech and demonic words, ordinary Scots were actively contributing to a compelling communal discussion about the powers and earthly presence of the devil.

Chapter Four: The Personal Devil

In the early years of the seventeenth century, a young woman identified only as Mistress Rutherford chronicled the spiritual experiences that had dominated her life.[1] Orphaned before the age of ten, she was raised by her strict, pious grandparents in Edinburgh. Throughout her childhood, they took her to hear frequent sermons delivered by the hell-fire and brimstone preachers who were typical of Reformed Protestant communities. When she was eleven, Mistress Rutherford fell ill with the measles. In a feverish state, she was plagued by "a continouall fear of the Devill coming and taking me away." So intense was this demonic apprehension that she suffered insomnia and even suicidal thoughts: "I could not sleep for fear of him, and in my sleep I was molested with dreams, so that my life became wearisom to me…Many a time wished I for wars to come into the kingdom, that I might have been slain [rather than be] guilty of doing it myself."[2]

During her teenage years, as in her youth, Mistress Rutherford could not free her mind from thoughts of Satan, especially while listening to sermons. She lamented that "ther was not an object I got my eye upon, but I feared the Devil to go in it, and to come and destroy me. So that in company or alone I could get no rest, but ever thought that he to quhom I gave myself so oft would once come and take me."[3] One day during such preaching, she was so beset with thoughts of the devil that she believed the loud wind

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[1] Mistress Rutherford, "Mistress Rutherford's Conversion Narrative," *Scottish History Society, Miscellany xiii*, ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2004).

[2] Ibid., 153

[3] Ibid.

outside was Satan roaring throughout the kirk. She begged the lord for "peace in his house." God delivered, and the kirk became Rutherford's sanctuary from the devil.

Beyond the church walls, however, Satan continued to be her unyielding antagonist. After her grandfather passed away when she was about fifteen, she began to see apparitions of him for twenty straight days, which she believed to be "the devil in his likeness."[4] Soon after, encumbered by self-doubt and uncertainty about her salvation, the devil brought to mind the sins of her past. For six long weeks she wrestled with fears that she was doomed to hell, as "the sight and sense of these things put my soul in such torment as is inexpressible, finding myself guilty of every tribunal of God and my own conscience."[5] Satan convinced her that she had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, an unforgivable, eternal sin by which salvation becomes impossible.[6] Tormented by guilt and fear at this thought, she again considered suicide: "Satan tempted me to put violence hands in my self, making me think it so far from sin, that it would be looked be good service to God to execut his justice on such a traitor that looked so well

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 163.

[6] Some sins frequently considered eternal include the deliberate rejection of the mercy of God and ascribing the work of the Holy Spirit to the devil. The basis for belief in eternal sins comes from Matthew 12:30-32, which reads "Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather with me scatters. And so I tell you, people will be forgiven every sin and blasphemy. But the blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. Anyone who speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but anyone who speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come." The sin against the Holy Spirit, which Calvin, Beza, James VI, and many other theologians addressed, was the one sure sign that an individual was reprobate. On this point, see John Calvin, *A harmonie vpon the the three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke* (London, 1584), and Theodore Beza, *Propositions and Principles of Divinity* (Edinburgh, 1591).

favoured."[7]Soon after, as she was teetering on the edge of the spiritual abyss, the Lord showed her mercy, filling her with "inexpressible joy" during sermon time.

Still, doubts over whether she was truly a child of God never ceased. Once, in prayer late at night, Mistress Rutherford was struck with "fear of the apparition of Satan in some bodily shape" and anticipated that he had come to carry her to hell.[8] Then, after hearing a sermon on how Satan tempted Christ, she was again relieved from Satan's assaults. This psychological rollercoaster of fear and relief continued throughout her life, or at least what she recorded of it. For Mistress Rutherford, who had her own conversion experience at a young age, faith equaled neither assurance nor spiritual ease.

Mistress Rutherford composed her narrative of her struggles with sin and eventual conversion experience in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Though little is known about her life (even her first name remains the subject of speculation), her narrative typifies the religious fervor of the age. One historian has described Rutherford's account as "a catalogue of the prevailing religion of her time and place; indeed one could supply a passable description of Scottish Jacobean (and later) piety by annotating Mistress Rutherford's narrative."[9] Religious melancholy clearly dominated her life, and the majority of her spiritual despair came from the experience of Satan. The constant themes of her lugubrious narrative —moral weakness, obsession with sin, suicidal thoughts, anxiety about salvation, and total reliance on the mercy of God— were all inextricably linked to her demonic belief. These same themes appear consistently in

[7] Rutherford, "Conversion Narrative," 166.
[8] Ibid., 178.
[9] David Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland* (London: Ashgate, 2010), 14.

autobiographies, letters, spiritual diaries, memoirs, and personal covenants of early modern Scottish men and women. This chapter explores these self-writings and asks how demonic belief influenced individual lived experiences and Scottish religious culture more broadly.

The previous chapter explored the ways in which ordinary, uneducated Scots referenced the devil in their daily interactions. Beyond snippets found in the kirk session records, however, these ordinary Scots left behind virtually no other records of their demonic beliefs, and the role of Satan in the daily lives of the illiterate remains largely elusive.[10] An educated minority of Scots, however, recorded their spiritual experiences with great verve. The devil often played the central role in the religious lives of these Scottish men and women. For them, demonic experiences implicated the questions of sin, self, and salvation that comprised fundamental parts of Reformed Protestantism. Through struggles with Satan, these Scots came to understand and define themselves, their communities, and the faith that guided their lives.

The term "self-writing" is employed here to convey the first-person, often autobiographical writings with which this chapter is concerned. It is in these writings that Scots laid bare their encounters with Satan, which undoubtedly shaped much of their broader religious experiences. These self-writings vary in form and in intent, from letters to personal diaries to personal covenants. Some were published, while others remain only

[10] On literacy in early modern Scotland and beyond, see R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Literacy and Society in Scotland and England, 1660-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland, 1630-1760," *Past and Present,* 96 (1982): 81-102; and Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800* (New York: Longman, 1989).

in manuscript form. Of course, an unpublished spiritual diary, kept only for personal reasons, poses a different set of questions than an autobiography written in hindsight and with the intent of public consumption. All of the diverse genres of self-writing are fraught with problems for the historian hoping to sort fact from fiction.[11] These men and women presented their lives, and indeed their encounters with Satan, in a very self-conscious way, trying to fashion themselves as the deserving godly they hoped to be. David Mullan's work on Scottish spiritual narratives composed the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries contends that "self-imagining is very much part of the story— the genre depends upon a strong sense of the self as worthy of exemplification, or at least as representing a story worth telling, under the watchful eyes of a holy God."[12] Despite this self-imagining and possibly contrived presentation of life events, these spiritual accounts nonetheless illustrate for the historian what educated early modern Scots believed about Satan's involvement in their personal lives. Even if their demonic encounters were

[11] This chapter does not provide a thorough analysis of the genre of self-writing in Scotland itself. See David Mullan. *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland.* Mullan's book is an excellent and thorough discussion of how the godly in Scotland wrote about their religious experiences. On the genre of autobiography in Puritan England and New England, see Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken, 1972); William Matthews, "Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," in William Matthews and Ralph W. Rader, *Autobiography, Biography, and the Novel* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library,1973); Elizabeth Botanaki, "Seventeenth-Century English Women's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting and Account-Keeping," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999): 3-21; Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

[12] Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self,* 8.

purposefully constructed, these accounts still demonstrate the reality of what the devil represented for the inner-worlds of the godly.[13]

The nearly one hundred discrete Scottish self-writings examined for this chapter range from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries.[14] In comparison with England, religious self-writings, particularly in the form of autobiography, developed later and more slowly in Scotland.[15] Few of these self-writings existed in the first half of the seventeenth century, and most of these works were not circulated in print until after 1700.[16] The religious upheaval and persecution created in Scotland by the Restoration in 1660 also caused the genre of self-writing to flourish, as Scots took up the pen in hopes

[13] Alexandra Walsham makes a similar and useful point about the issue of imagination in her analysis of angel stories in early modern England, which is worth quoting at length, as it has guided my approach to accounts of Satan in Scottish self-writings: "It is misguided to try to disentangle 'fact' from 'fiction' in these accounts. Neither the doubts about their veracity sometimes expressed by their own reporters and publishers, nor the difficulty of determining whether they were read as literal truths or titillating curiosities, detract from their capacity to yield insight into the nature of contemporary perception…The content of the early modern imagination is a no less legitimate and interesting quarry than whatever we may choose to label 'reality'. Misapprehension and fantasy are themselves culturally constructed. Nor does it matter that many stories which have survived are several steps removed from the original experiences from which they emerged. The distorting filters of emotion, memory and ideology through which they were sieved are extremely revealing." See Walsham, "Invisible Helpers: Angelic Intervention in Post-Reformation England," *Past and Present* 208 (2010), 87.

[14] David Mullan in *Narratives of the Religious Self* has listed about 80 examples of Scottish autobiographical writings that focus explicitly on religion, about a dozen of which were composed prior to 1640. On top of consulting the 80 diaries and autobiographies noted by Mullan, I have also considered as part of this genre of "self-writing" about 20 letters (or groups of letters) from separate authors that detailed their religious experiences. In the bibliography, I have listed those self-writings that explicitly reveal beliefs about and struggles with Satan.

[15] For example, Owen Watkins lists 220 titles of English autobiographical works up to 1725 in his bibliography to *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography*. That the Scots came later to the autobiographical scene than the English is due, at least in part, to the fact that the English religious community faced earlier and more numerous sub-divisions, leading the Puritan minority to record their experiences in the face of persecution from an earlier date than the godly in Scotland, who were the majority for much of the seventeenth century. See Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland*, lx.

[16] Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self*. 39.

of recording their struggles, finding solace in writing, and providing example for others.[17]

In this chapter, the imprecise label "godly" is used to describe the authors who were all Reformed Protestants of some sort, but who ranged from moderate, royalist Presbyterians to radical covenanters. Clearly, this is a wide array of people. All of the men and women featured in this chapter, however, had a faith rooted in Reformed theology and discuss the devil in similar ways, despite differing opinions about ecclesiastical structure or erastianism.[18] The majority of the authors of Scottish self-writings were members of the clergy, or family members and wives of clergymen. Ministers publically encouraged spiritual writing, and lay people from the upper-echelons of society also kept record of their religious experiences. The men and women who penned these religious narratives were thus elites and represent only a small slice of a mostly uneducated society. [19] Nonetheless, their views provide historians with a complex but accessible glimpse into the Scottish experience of the devil.

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[17] See Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion, and Ideas* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003) and Tim Harris, *Restoration*: *Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

[18] For a further discussion of the terminology used here, please refer to my introduction, above. For a very useful summary of the challenges posed by religious labels in Scotland, see John Coffey, "The Problem of 'Scottish Puritanism', 1590–1638." *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland And Scotland, 1550–1700*, eds. Elizabethanne Boran, Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 66-90.

[19] In Scotland, urban literacy, judged by the ability to sign one's name, hovered around 50 percent in the 1630s for men, 10-20 percent for rural areas; much less for women. As one moves forward in time through the seventeenth century, literacy in Scotland steadily increased. Still, in most areas of Scotland literacy rates remained well-below 50 percent until the eighteenth century, and many remained unable to actually read texts as dense and complex as scripture. See R.A. Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland, 1630- 1760", *Past and Present* 96 (1982), 89-91; John Bannerman, "Literacy in the Highlands," *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, eds Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 214-235.

Living with the Enemy

Following the Reformation in Scotland, as in other Reformed Protestant areas, perceptions of Satan's powers underwent subtle but important changes. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, Scottish theologians began to emphasize the internal threat of Satan over the demonic ability to commit physical harm.[20] Temptation and subversion had long been powers of the devil, as his sole aim was always to tempt man to sin and draw them away from good works and into the pit of Hell. Following the Reformation, however, temptation in its internal, mental form became the primary focus of discussions about Satan. For Reformed Protestantism to succeed, Scottish Reformers insisted that people had to live a godly life not only in word and deed, but also in thought— and it was through human thought that Satan proved the most dangerous. The devil, the clergy warned, would approach the godly with a full arsenal of temptation and spiritual confusion, leading them to doubt their salvation and the grace of God.[21] The wiles of the devil became an obsession for Reformed Protestants in Scotland. They perceived Satan's

[20] According to Nathan Johnstone, "a characteristically Protestant demonism emerged from a subtle realignment of emphasis rather than attack upon tradition. The central focus of this change was to emphasise the Devil's power of temptation, especially his ability to enter directly into the mind and plant thoughts within it that led people to sin." See Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-2.

[21] The internal assaults of the devil were a constant theme of seventeenth century sermons. See, for example, Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669); John Brown, *From Christ in believers the hope of glory being the substance of several sermons* (Edinburgh, 1694); Robert Baillie, *Satan the Leader in chief to all who resist the reparation of sion* (London, 1643); and Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, prayers and pulpit addresses of Alexander Henderson*, ed. Thomas R. Martin (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1867).

presence in every negative thought, every doubt, and every challenge life presented them. For Scots of all sorts, "no place [was] free of Satans temptations."[22]

Though spiritual experiences were unique to the individual, encounters with the devil detailed in self-writings usually followed a distinct pattern. First, the devil would lead the authors away from God, tempting them to sin or to doubt their salvation. In her memoirs, Katharine Collace, an educated Presbyterian woman, discussed the guilt and doubt that accompanied the death of her young child, which the devil had led her to believe she caused:

> I could not rest in the night for near a month together…a hell arose in my conscience for blood-guiltiness, and sin against light. I roared through the disquietness of my heart, and Satan was also let loose upon me, still sounding that in mine ears, 'pursue and overtake', there is 'none to deliver'…Thus I continued in extremity for eight days, much without sleep, crying out against myself. [23]

As evidenced by Collace's account, extreme self-doubt led to extended periods of emotional distress.[24] In his memoirs, the minister James Fraser of Brea detailed how the devil "did most cruelly, tyrannically, and furiously batter my soul with objections tending to discourage me, and to create evil thoughts of God in me, and to make me believe that

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[22]Andrew Hay of Craignethan, *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan*, ed. Alexander George Reid (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1901), 8. Craignethan was not a minister, and self-identified as a "country-gentleman."

[23] Katharine Collace, "Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises of Mistress Ross" in *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c. 1670-1730*, ed. David Mullan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 39-40. Collace's child was tragically killed in the by his nurse laying upon him and smothering him. This entry was composed in the late seventeenth century, but a specific date is not given.

[24] The most extreme periods of emotional distress appeared in the self-writings of women, who were more apt to record in detail such experiences. For a discussion of the role of introspection and self-doubt in women's self-writings, see David Mullan, ed. Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: *Writing the Evangelical Self, c. 1670-1730* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) and *Patricia Demers, Women's Writing in English*: *Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). While the differences between men and women's self-writings are extremely important for understanding their spiritual experiences and identity, as this chapter demonstrates, the role that the devil played in these experiences is almost identical.

all this while I was living in an unconverted condition and delusion."[25] The implantation of doubts about one's own salvation was one of the devil's most dangerous delusions and clearly reflects the anxiety and powerlessness that attended the belief in predestination. With good works removed from the picture, salvation lay solely in the hands of God, and estrangement from God was powerful fear.

Many Scots had difficulty discerning the origins of their evil thoughts and unchristian doubts. Did they arise from the corrupt minds of individual men and women, or were they planted by Satan? According to both Catholic and Protestant theology, the devil had the power to place evil thoughts into the susceptible minds of individuals. Yet the innate corruption of humans made them prone to malicious thoughts independent of the devil. In many self-writings, therefore, the authors struggle to discern whether evil thoughts came from within or directly from the enemy.[26] While imprisoned in 1667 for opposition to Charles II, the Covenanter Sir John Chiesly found himself overcome by self-doubt and awareness of his sinful heart. "O my soul", he lamented, "thou art become so sloathfull in following the Lord, why dost thou so wander in prayer, and thy heart is not fixed..."[27] He wondered whether this spiritual laxity was a result of his own nature and or of God's letting the devil rouse him to sin. "O my soul," he implored, "is the lord become better and thou worse, or doest thou but see more of thy own naughtiness then

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[25] James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs of James Fraser of Brea" in *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841), ii.212.

[26] For an extended discussion of the ability of Satan to plant blasphemous thoughts in the human mind, see Wod. Qu. XXVIII, f. 94r-97v. The anonymous author of the letter contends that while the devil produced the blasphemous thoughts, his friend's heart also was to blame, for the "heart yields many times to such suggestions." He advised his friend, when facing such unchristian thoughts at the instigation of Satan, to "flee in unto god threw Christ Jesus for pardon."

[27] Wod. Oct. XXXI, f. 41rv.

formerly, or doth the Lord let Satan ever more lose and not restrain thy corruptions as formerly? O what a vast wilderness of sin and wickedness do I see in my heart…"[28] In 1728 John Stevenson, a farmer in Carrick, wrote last advice for his children and grandchildren as he lay dying. He told them of his sinful nature and the erroneous thoughts that troubled him as a youth and of his confusion about their source: "these unworthy thoughts of God filled me with horror, and I neither allowed them nor entertained them, but at the time could not discern that they were Satan's fiery darts, but rather charged them on myself, which still increased my trouble."[29]

Whatever they were demonically induced or not, for many Scots, sins and doubts led to intense fears of punishment from God, with the divine sentence often being carried out by the devil. Stevenson went on to explain how at various times in his life the devil had

> violently suggested to my soul that some time or other, God would suddenly destroy me as with a thunder clap. Which so filled my soul with fear and pain, that every now and then I looked about me to receive the divine blow, still expecting it was a coming; yea, many nights I durst not sleep, lest I had awakened in everlasting flames…[30]

When the author was most wracked by the fear of Satan and damnation, God would mercifully deliver him or her from the "fearful pit," albeit temporarily.[31] With the Reformation, the traditional rites and ceremonies that offered protection from the devil had been removed, and now only God could rescue man from demonic assaults.

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[28] Ibid.
[29] John Stevenson, "A Rare Soul-Strengthening and Comforting Cordial for Old and Young Christians: Being the last advice of John Stevenson, in the shire of Ayr, to his children and grandchildren." in *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841), ii. 417.
[30] Ibid., 427.
[31] Ibid.

Accordingly, beseeching of the Lord for aid against the devil appears over and over in Scottish self-writings. In this way, struggles against Satan made manifest a key tenet of Reformed theology— the spiritual malaise of man and the doctrine of double predestination made humankind's dependence on God absolute and eternal.

The Struggles of Youth and Adulthood

The worst and most formative of these cycles of fear and relief occurred in youth, when the spiritually inexperienced were the most susceptible to Satan's snares. Many, like Mistress Rutherford, recalled their youth as a cesspool of ungodly deeds and demonically-induced thoughts. In his late sixteenth-century autobiography, the Scottish Reformer James Melville described his struggles with Satan while he was a "vile and corrupt youth." [32] In his early twenties, he was a handsome man ("not unlovlie" in his words) and was "of nature very loving and amorous", which allowed Satan "to snare me, and spoil the haill wark of God in me." The devil, Melville explained, encouraged his sexual pursuits, and "many lovers had I… many occasiones, in diverse places and sortes of persones."[33] The godly often attributed unclean sexual thoughts or actions to demonic temptations. This by no means absolved them of their sins, however, for the devil's success depended on man's base nature, which was especially vulnerable during youth.

In his memoirs, James Fraser of Brea told how in 1651, when he was twelve, he "broke out at last in the dreadful sin of blasphemy, which I uttered with my tongue"

[32] James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 79.
[33] Ibid..

during a game of cards.[34] This particular moment of sin haunted Fraser through much of his childhood, and a few extended quotes from his memoirs are necessary to demonstrate the intensity of the relationship between his sin, Satan, and fears of damnation. A year and a half after he committed this blasphemy, while in bed one night

> thoughts of that grievous sin came to my mind, and that with such horror as made me tremble with an unaccustomed fear; this was the first sting of sin. I essayed to pray, but could not get my mouth opened; there did a number of blasphemies and cursings run in my mind with great horror and against my will, which I thought was the devil in me.[35]

At the time, the Lord pitied him and eased his "confused soul," but this was not the end of Fraser's anguished adolescence. A year later, he heard a sermon that led him to recall his sin of blasphemy, "upon which, for the space of some hours, a more violent storm did break out than any I had ever felt." Wracked with fear, Fraser wrote that he

> saw in God's countenance terror, wrath, hatred, and vengeance; and some of my natural enmity against the Lord did break out likewise; so that I struggled, murmured, and fretted against God, like the damned in hell, for suffering me to sin unpardonably. Despair and want of hope is terrible; I was as if in hell…I was in an hourly expectation when Satan should come and take me away; and it was beaten upon me with a mighty impression that I was delivered to the devil…. hopelessness was the sting of all my evils.[36]

Youthful experiences with Satan were by no means limited to the Scottish clergy. In a confession written in the late seventeenth century, a layman named James Gordon described, "for the glory of God and my own conviction and self-abhorrence in the sight

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[34] James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs," ii. 97. In Scotland, blasphemy was not made an official criminal offense in Scotland until 1661, when the Privy Council passed a statute that made the blasphemy punishable by death. For a historical discussion of blasphemy in Scotland, see Michael F. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

[35] Ibid., 103.

[36] Ibid., 106.

of a pure and holy God," all of the sins he had committed since his youth. His first "heinous" sin occurred at the tender age of four:

> I being a young cheild was left at home on the Sabboath day and playing with the neighbouring children in the next house was caused by the eldest of them to imitate man and wife with a young femal cheild. Therefore when I remember how the children did glory and rejoice in it & I myself so early made to be one of Satans servants makes me to fear lest he have power given him by God to tempt me to this or the like sin.[37]

This was undoubtedly a traumatic and incomprehensible event for a four year old. Years later, Gordon attributed his actions to Satan and his own corruptions, with no blame placed on the older boy who orchestrated the whole thing. Belief in the devil and man's depravity had blurred his hindsight. Another formative and tragic event occurred when, at the age of seven, both Gordon's parents died, leaving him orphaned. That year, he wrote that he disliked those with whom he was living with, and he ran away to a loch in the woods with the intention of drowning himself. When he came to the loch, however, he "wandred off ane other way," changing his mind about suicide. In looking back as an adult, Gordon thanked the "Lord who preserved me from that evil accident when Satan might have easily forced me to ane untimely and unhappy death."[38]

Of course, such accounts were not written by children themselves. The authors were adults, reflecting back over their lives and recreating their experiences on paper in accord with what a godly existence should have looked like. It is thus difficult to discern whether children actually felt the intense anxiety over Satan and sin described in these accounts. Elizabeth Blackadder, the daughter of a covenanting minister, wrote that at the

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[37] GD248/616/9. f. 1
[38] Ibid.

age of six she "had very early conviction of sin and terrors of hell, even to that degree, that when I had gone to bed, I could not sleep but sorrow and weep under the fear of God's wrath."[39] Were these the true fears of a six year old or the interpretation of childhood events by an adult? Certainly impressionable young Scots were frequently taken to hear sermons on the topics of sin and Satan, as church attendance was compulsory in many areas.[40] While this does not negate the fact that the authors of these self-writings interpreted their pasts from the perspective of a godly adult, these accounts illustrate that in early modern Scottish society, it was believed that no one, regardless of age, sex, or occupation, was free of Satan's snares.

The autobiography of another educated layman, James Nimmo, exemplifies the cycle of temptation, fear, and divine mercy that characterized godly encounters with Satan.[41] Born in 1654, Nimmo, a self-identified Covenanter, recorded the narrative of his life in his elderly years. His narrative's subtitle, "Written for his own Satisfaction to Keep in some remembrance the lords way dealing and kindness towards him," made clear the purpose of recording his experiences. Though his narrative is full of spiritual hardship induced by the devil, the overarching theme is the mercy of God. For Nimmo, as for

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[39] Elizabeth Blackadder, "A Short Account of the Lord's Way of Providence towards me in my Pilgrimage Journeys," in David Mullan, *Women's Writing*, 387. Blackadder would have been six years old around 1665.

[40] It is also likely not a coincidence that when demonic possession cases did begin to occur in Scotland during the last decade of the seventeenth century, the vast majority of those afflicted were adolescents between the ages of eleven and sixteenth. This was a tender, impressionable age, when Scots seem to have initially become aware of the possibility of damnation. On demonic possession in Scotland, see Chapter Six, below.

[41] James Nimmo, *The Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo*: *Written for his own Satisfaction to Keep in some rememberance the lords way dealing and kindness towards him, 1654-1709,* ed. W.G Scott Moncrieff (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1889).

many early modern Scots, the power Satan held over him only reaffirmed his innate sinfulness and his dependence on God for salvation.

As in many autobiographical descriptions of one's youth, the devil played a leading role in young Nimmo's life, luring him into temptation and highlighting the baser qualities of his nature.[42] Speaking of his youthful follies, Nimmo said that he committed sin thoughtlessly and often, with "the Divel leading [him] captive att his pleasure."[43] In his school days, he was moody and selfish; to those that followed him with "fairness and aplaus", he was kind and loyal, but for those who crossed him, his affection turned sour, as "the verie venom of Hell and nature of Sathan appeared to ane extreame." In 1676, at the age of seventeen, Nimmo fell very ill for eight days. After recovering, he began to contemplate the evil of his ways, and he "fell into such dreadfull terrors that was insuportabl, apprehending it could not consist with the justice of God but that the earth should open & swallow me up to hell qwick."[44] As for many Reformed Protestants, the threat of hell proved a strong incentive to pursue spiritual growth. As John Welch of Ayr bluntly preached in the early seventeenth century, "the book of your conscience must be opened or you will go to Hell."[45] After this episode of spiritual angst, Nimmo began to try to turn away from things abhorrent to God, and he assessed his spiritual growth through his ability to resist Satan. When he was spiritually strengthened, "Satan did nott

[42] Nimmo attributed part of his proclivity to sin to the fact that he was indulged as a young child. Interestingly, though, he described his father in his narrative as being a stiff man who was constantly hard on him-- not indulgent at all; this contradiction in how he interpreted his youth no doubt reflected his confusion about his own nature.
[43] Nimmo, *Narrative*, 2.
[44] Ibid., 6
[45] John Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1744), 66.

get me so easlie brangled out of my peace, as sometimes before."[46] Interactions with Satan were thus used as a metric for interpreting one's godliness; both his increased assaults and the ability to resist them were viewed as signs of God's grace.

For many godly Scots, such encounters with Satan occurred at night, when darkness rendered the world more precarious and dreams blurred the line between reality and fantasy. The devil's nocturnal tendencies accorded with traditional fears of night as a particularly dangerous time. As schoolmaster Hugh Cameron of Lochbroom observed in the mid-eighteenth century, "when the sun is out of sight, the wild beasts of the Forrest creep forth…..it is remarkable that all the wild creatures that are hurtful to man and his Interest, commonly come abroad at night being Creatures of Darkness…"[47] Katharine Collace described one particularly difficult experience from the mid-seventeenth century, when

> the night before the daybreak became exceedingly dark so as I never remembered to have the like: it was a none-such strong and violent sett of tentations from Satan; providences seeming to contradict the grounds of my hope in a particular spiritual wickedness gathering strength against me; soul and body extremely weak, under the sense of emptiness and vileness." She then cried out to the lord for relief, and he "brought [her] of that horrible pit.[48]

In an unusually detailed account composed on March 14, 1679, an anonymous author described how in the midst of his dream, he saw "a dark flood cast forth from the dragon [meaning Satan], which was ready to swallow me up…my alone defence was prayer, crying without ceasing, & saying nothing else for the greatness of my anguish and fear,

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[46] Nimmo, *Narrative,* 21.
[47] Adv. MS. 34.6.30, f. 176.
[48] Collace, "Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises," 53.

but O Jesus!" He then reported that, for a brief moment, he saw God and Jesus and was filled with an intense calm. Then, thrust back into fear, he wrote that he

> saw the Dragon, the Beast, and Babylon lying on this earth. The Dragon was of a long shape , & of a Green color like a serpent, it had four short legs... it was Terrible to behold; the very thought of has since made me almost to tremble…I desyred also to see Hell, which I saw at a distance, in the likeness of a dark smoaking durance, even a thick darkness which comprehended no light.[49]

Almost all nighttime accounts of the devil mirrored their daytime counterparts; both at night and in waking life, encounters with Satan led to sinful thoughts, fear, and the beseeching of the lord for aid.

The fear of the devil in dreams was often followed by solace found in the inevitable victory of the godly. In 1655, "a representation of the divell in a dreame" awakened Sir George Maxwell of Pollock from his slumber.[50] Troubled by the terribleness of the appearance of Satan in his dream, he turned to prayer and meditation. Upon doing so, he soon came to the comforting conclusion that "what a change it shall be when divells at whose rememberance or appearance we now tremble shall then tremble before Christ."[51] In his diary, composed shortly before he died in the early eighteenth century, minister Henrie Duncan described the assaults of Satan while he was asleep:

> I have never been so capable either of joy or sorrow nor so sensibly affected with the same ever in my life wakeing with respect to any manner of object as I have been sleeping or upon wakeing after sleep. My sorrow hath been non[e] such in sleep when dreaming that I was committing some wicked sin and my joy none such upon awaking and finding that it was but a dream…Whence I am ready to conclude that such dreams are more immediately from Sathan rather than the working of natural corruption, altho' also I grant if there were not corrupt nature

[49] Ch12/20/9, f.15.
[50] MS. 3150, f. 28.
[51] Ibid., f. 29.

> in me susceptible of such corrupt imaginations, either sleeping or wakeing, Sathan could get no place, not for a moment in me.[52]

Thus in dreams, as in waking life, Satan worked with and through the innate corruptibility of man. In theory and in experiential reality, one could not operate without the other.

While the doctrines of double predestination and the sovereignty of God could have, in theory, mitigated fear of the devil, the result was quite the opposite.[53] As the writings above demonstrate, the struggle against Satan dominated the lives of the godly, regardless of age, sex, or social standing. This accorded with the words of John Calvin, who wrote in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* that

> The fact that the devil is everywhere called God's adversary and ours also ought to fire us to an unceasing struggle against him…If we are minded to affirm Christ's kingdom as we ought, we must wage irreconcilable war with him who is plotting its ruin. Again, if we care about our salvation at all, we ought to have neither peace nor truce with him who continually lays traps to destroy it.[54]

Engagement with Satan was a key component of a godly life. Reformed Protestants in Scotland entered into this unceasing war with the devil from the very moment they became believers.

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[52] Henry Duncan, "The most memorable passages of the life of Mr. Henrie Duncan, late minister of the gospel at Dunsyre, c. 1710" in *Protestant Piety in Early Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712*, ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2008), 247.
[53] On this point, see Chapter One, above.
[54] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I.xvi.15.

While demonic assaults usually came in the form of psychological struggles, this did not negate the possibility of Satan's causing bodily harm.[55] The despair caused by the devil had the potential to wreak not only irrevocable spiritual harm, but also physical damage. As James Fraser of Brea described, "the devil rested not in the meantime violently and unseasonably to press some strict duties, seeking to undo my body and spirit at once, driving furiously as Jehu did."[56] In the early 1650s, after Katherine Collace had entered into a personal covenant with God at the age of fourteen, she was beset with demonic assaults. These assaults, though internal in nature, led to bodily strife: "Being under a violent fit of sickness, so that I could not more out of a bed, and setting myself to prayer, Satan in his usual was opposing, to the breaking of my body."[57] In

[55] Though Protestant theologians tended to challenge the concept of the devil as a "material creature existing in ordinary material space and time," they did not reject his actual ability to, with the permission of God, cause bodily harm. See Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*, 30. Chapter Five, below, also details how internal temptations by the devil could manifest in the injury or murder of another person. To give one brief example, Robert Birrel, burges of Edinburgh, wrote in his diary in 1567 of a tragic and bizarre murder, in which a man named Peter killed his brother George after catching him in bed with his wife. Peter stabbed George in the nursery of George's child, and as he was dying, George fell over the cradle of his child and smothered the infant to death with his body. This "rair and vounderful accident" was no accident at all, according to Birrel; this tragedy had occurred at "Sathan's instigation." Here, the internal actions of the devil produced a tragic physical consequence. Though anxiety about demonic temptation had come to supersede concern for bodily harm, internal struggles manifested themselves in profoundly external ways. Robert Birrell, "The Diary of Robert Birrel" in *Fragments of Scottish History*, ed. J.G. Daylell (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1798), 12-13.

[56] James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs," 213. This is a reference to Jehu, a king of Israel who killed many and supposedly drove a chariot like a madman: "the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously." 2 Kings 9:10.

[57] Katharine Collace, "Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises," 45.

some of the more dramatic self-writings of godly Scots, encounters with the devil even led to dangerous illness and even thoucghts of suicide.[58]

Moreover, while the godly understood the devil to be a primarily internal foe, they did not altogether abandon the idea that Satan could also have a physical reality. This was most evident in cases of witchcraft, when the devil often appeared before supposed witches as a man or a black animal. [59] In self-writings, however, Scots usually described Satan in the intangible form of an apparition or an illusion. As Mistress Rutherford described in her diary, after her grandfather's death, she began to see apparitions of him for twenty straight days, which she believed to be "the devil in his likeness."[60] Elizabeth Blackadder wrote in 1684 that when she was young, she was perpetually terrified of apparitions or spirits. She reported that once she was

> lying into a room alone, and there came into the chamber a great black dog, which I was tempted to believe this was the devil. But the greater fear overcame the lesser, for being under the terror of an approaching eternity and dead of an angry God, I cried out to the Lord, 'O, I fear no enemy but thyself'. Towards the morning I got ease of my outward trouble and had a very deep sense of the Lord's mercy to me in preventing my utter ruin by death at that time.[61]

In retrospect, both Rutherford and Blackadder acknowledged that the apparition or being they saw not the devil, but an illusion caused by Satan or by their spiritual weakness. At

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[58] For more information on suicide in early modern Britain, see R.A. Houston, *Punishing the Dead: Suicide, Lordship, and Community in Britain, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Michael Macdonald and Terence Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*: *Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Chapter Seven, below, for a discussion of the consequences of demonic beliefs and experiences.

[59] See Joyce Miller, "Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early Modern Scottish Witchcraft Discourse," *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotlan*d, ed Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 144-165. See also Chapter Six, below, for a discussion of physical descriptions of the devil in witchcraft records.

[60] Mistress Rutherford, "Conversion narrative," 153.

[61] Blackadder, "A short account," 387.

the time of their demonic visions, however, they were convinced that Satan had physically appeared before them, prepared to drag them away to hell. Whether he appeared before Scots in material form or implanted in their minds the desire to sin, Satan's primarily threat remained his ability to cause fear and trembling over personal salvation, which had profound consequences that could be at once psychological and physical.

Divine Mercy and Election

Though psychologically taxing, demonic struggles also reaffirmed the godly identity of these Scots— an identity that entailed the burden of introspection and self-deprecation, but also the assurance of eventual salvation. The hopeful theme of election pervades these personal experiences alongside cycles of demonically induced fear and self-loathing. When faced with earthly tribulations and demonic assaults, Scottish men and women clung to the hope that they were saved and that in the end, God's grace would render the devil's actions futile. When John Gilry was imprisoned in the Edinburgh tollbooth in 1638, likely for his actions against the government of Charles I, he wrote to a friend about the trials he was facing: "Those floods that the dragon is casting out of his mouth to swallow up all…cannot deceive the elect…all the wiles of devills and men cannot prevail against them that belong to him nor none can pluck them out of his hand."[62] In the late seventeen century, overcome with concern for her husband (an oft-persecuted covenanting minister), Marion Veitch slept "little or none for several

[62] Wod. Qu. XXXVI, f.165.

nights."[63] She found comfort, however, in the words of Revelation: "Wo to the Earth and the Inhabitants thereof for the Devil is come down with great wrath but his time is short…."[64]

For some, this knowledge that God was Satan's master tempered fears of demonic intervention in daily life. This was particularly true for those most learned in theology and most confident in their election, such as the late sixteenth-century minister Robert Blair. Blair reported in his autobiography that when he was a student at Glasgow, he spent his time studying in a room in which no one would go due to the sighting of apparitions. "Yet that same chamber," he wrote

> I resolved to spend my waking nights, and did so the whole summer, and was never troubled nor terrified a whit…for this thou taughtest me that devils were chained with chains of darkness, reserved to the judgment of the last day, so that they could not, nor durst not, once appear, far less molest, without thy permission; and that if thou permittest any such thing, thou wouldst make it work for good to one devoted to thee, whom thou hast taken into protection.[65]

From the pulpit, ministers took pains to reiterate the final victory of the godly again the devil. As David Willingham preached in the late seventeenth century, "it may be the Devill raise a storme on some of your consciences…then for your comfort Christ has broken the serpents head…he has spoiled the Devill of all his strength, he has broken the devill's arms: if your conscience be sprinkled by the blood of sprinkling, ye are saved from the destroying Angell."[66] The use of the word "conscience" is key here. Ministers

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[63] Adv.ms.34.6.22, f. 12.
[64] Ibid. Exact wording of Revelation 12:12, in the King James Version, is "Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."
[65] Robert Blair, *The Life of Mr. Robert Blair,* ed., Thomas M'Crie (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848), 8.
[66] MS 5770, f. 110.

like Willingham recognized the internal struggles imbedded in the Reformed Protestant experience and sought to comfort their parishioners with scripturally-based promises of eventual relief from sin and Satan.[67]

The belief that Satan acted only in accordance with God's will provided the Scottish Covenanters in particular with an explanation for their political and religious strife as well as a language with which to express fears and hopes about themselves and the precarious future of Scotland.[68] The letters of John Welwood, a radical Presbyterian minister born in 1649, exemplify this relationship between demonic assaults and faith in God's providence. A remarkable preacher according to existing accounts, Welwood was a charismatic man who had an unconventional and circuitous path to the ministry. He died young in Perth in either 1678 or 1679, barely forty years of age, leaving behind a large collection of letters sent to various friends and fellow ministers throughout Britain composed just before his death.[69] These letters provide a window into a covenanting

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[67] See, for example, John Brown, *From Christ in believers the hope of glory being the substance of several sermons* (Edinburgh, 1694); William Thompson, *The churches Comfort, or a Sermon on John XVI* (Edinburgh, 1661); Zachary Boyd, *The Balme of Gilead prepared for the sick* (Edinburgh, 1629); and Samuel Rutherford, *The Trial and Triumph of Faith* (Edinburgh, 1645). See also Chapters One and Two, above, for further discussion of how the hope of victory was integral to Reformed Protestantism.

[68] As detailed in Chapter Two, in 1638, a group of Presbyterian clergyman composed and signed the National Covenant, a document that opposed to Charles I's imposition of the English liturgy upon the Scottish kirk. The men who promised to uphold the National Covenant became known as Covenanters. The Covenanters faced their most intense period of political persecution during the reign of Charles II, who reinstated episcopacy in the Scottish kirk and actively sought to imprison and even execute the Presbyterian rebels. In the sermons of these Covenanters, one finds some of the most passionate and urgent discussions of Satan. On political covenants and the Covenanters, see John Morrill, ed. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); David Stevenson, *The Covenanters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Tim Harris, *Restoration*: *Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005). For a discussion of the second Scottish Reformation, see John Young, "The Covenanters and the Scottish Parliament, 1639-51: The Rule of the Godly and the 'Second Scottish Reformation," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* eds. Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 131-158.

[69] John Welwood, "Letters, 1675-77," in *Protestant Piety*.. Original Source: Advocates MS. 32.4.4 1r-25v.

minister's experiences with Satan and self-doubt and epitomize the relationship between struggles with the devil and the knowledge of election.

Though generally confident in his salvation, Welwood was not sure-footed in navigating the precarious landscape of godly life. Unsurprisingly, in his early years, Satan proved an impediment to his spiritual progress and inner peace. One contemporary described how Welwood struggled in his youth "with the sense of sin and apprehensions of deserved wrath, yea with very disquieting temptations from Satan." According to this account, God delivered him from these youthful tribulations, and in return, Welwood "promised to God that he should imploy his best endeavors for the ruine of Satan's kingdom' by committing himself to the ministry."[70] Despite his resolve to overcome demonic obstacles, Welwood continued to wrestle with the dual menace of Satan and his own sinful nature. As he explained in 1676, "I find it still a great difficulty to be clear of the Lord's call…and many a time I take mine own way."[71] Welwood wrote to another friend that same year that he had "been in sore damps this while bypast, and not yet out of them. Satan labours to hold me in hot water, and hath again put out of my view the life of faith… Sometimes I will be in great confusions and darkness."[72]

Beyond describing his own struggles with Satan, in his letters Welwood reiterated that Satan, above all, desired to destroy the most pious of God's servants. As he told a friend who had recently suffered demonic assaults, "I am glad (and ye may think it strange) that Satan and his instruments love you not; for it is a token that you are none of

[70] Wod.Qu.LXXV, 186v.
[71] Welwood, "Letters," 100.
[72] Ibid.

theirs." [73] Welwood believed that for he and his fellow Christians, struggles against Satan would be unceasing until death or the Day of Judgment, when the godly would at last have their victory. In another letter to a friend in July of 1676, he wrote that "I am so slothfull and love ease and know pleasures so well. And Satan so jumbles me about my call away that it is a great difficultie for me to goe from one corner of a shire to another. I do indeed sigh and go backward. But I hope the time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord is not far off."[74] In days fraught with anticipation of the Apocalypse, both death and the Last Judgment were understood to bring relief from the struggle with Satan.

This hope for the Day of Judgment pervaded the writings of radical Presbyterians, whose anti-erastian ideals subjected them to persecution from the British government, particularly following the Restoration of Charles II. Many Covenanters faced imprisonment and even execution because of their religious and political recalcitrance. As Welwood saw it, Satan's earthly intervention lay at the heart of these hardships. Bemoaning recent events in Scotland, he wrote in 1676 that "O but Satan be cruel…he, in his instruments, is so unmerciful."[75] He stated in 1676 that "O but a Christian hath much worke while he is hereaway. He hath sin, Satan, dissertion, afflictions, and plagues to debate withal…we have need of trials and afflictions to purge out our corruptions, and this hath been the lot of all his people in all ages."[76]

[73] Ibid., 84.
[74] Welwood, "Letters," 168.
[75] Ibid., 101.
[76] Ibid., 85.

Welwood thus accepted his personal difficulties— demonic and other— by biblically and historically rationalizing the struggles of God's chosen people. For them, victory was assured: "Wee sometimes fear and are troubled, but we are in no hazard, for we are built upon the rock of ages, and our anchor is fixed within the vail, and the gates of hell may terrify us, but not prevail against us."[77] Due to the doctrines of predestination and the sovereignty of God, the devil could do nothing without divine permission and could never alter the salvation of Scots like Welwood.

During times of despair and want of hope, Satan could serve as a reminder of the profound and immutable mercy that God had shown the godly through their election. As Welwood implored in a 1677 letter, "Is not God our Father? And the devil, wicked men, sin, death, hell all under our feet?" He stated that though "Satan and our folly combining together make us to pore upon those things that may sadden us and keep us out of sight of our privileges," the godly must keep their eye on the prize of salvation.[78] Because his relief came from the knowledge of predestined grace, Welwood's encounters with the devil also reaffirmed dependency on and gratitude towards God.

This knowledge that the devil acted only with divine permission and facing predetermined defeat did little to extinguish the fears of many Scots. Henrietta Lindsay, the daughter of a covenanting layman, wrote in her diary in 1687 that she had been "much slated by Satan's devices…wherein was discovered the greatest frailty and weakness in yielding to slavish fears, as if Satan were not fettered in chains and under command. But O distrustful and un believing heart, when shall iniquity no more be its

[77] Ibid., 82.
[78] Ibid., 88.

ruin?"[79] Despite her awareness of God's control of the devil, Lindsay could not escape her deeply ingrained fear of Satan. Though the devil operated only with divine instruction, ministers used the pen and the pulpit to impress upon Scots that God willed Satan to harass the godly. The battle against Satan was the major component of a godly life, and while election guaranteed eventual victory, Scottish men and women ought to expect a continual onslaught of demonic assaults in their earthly lives.

Satan and Man's "evil heart"

Anxieties about Satan were predicated upon a key component of Reformed theology: the innate depravity of postlapsarian man. Satan did not just prey on man's spiritual weakness; human frailty provided both the impetus and the means for demonic assaults. As Alexander Henderson preached in 1638, "for if so be that we had a right heart, then Satan nor his temptations would not prevail over us. But it is a pitiful thing that he has darts, and shoots them at poor souls, and we are ready to receive them, and then we cannot get them out again."[80] A favorite topic of Scottish ministers, beliefs in the powers of Satan became intertwined with the understanding of man as irrevocably debased.[81]

Darren Oldridge has suggested that the fact that Satan could inject evil thoughts into human minds provided an opportunity for the godly to profess their secret doubts and

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[79] Henrietta Lindsay, "Her Diary," in *Women's Life Writing*, 275.

[80] Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, prayers and pulpit addresses of Alexander Henderson*, ed. Thomas R. Martin (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1867), 215.

[81] For a discussion of this relationship in sermons, see Chapter Two, above. See also, for example, James Melville, *Spirituall propine of a pastour to his people (Edinburgh, 1598);* Charles Hammond, *God's Eye from Heaven* (Edinburgh, 1671); Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669); and Rutherford, *Trial and Triumph*.

desires without the risk of appearing to be the author of these thoughts. He contends that the satanic origins of evil thoughts acquitted individuals of responsibility and guilt and could even emphasize their own godliness.[82] Yet even if humans were not considered the original author of such unchristian cognitions, the fact that Satan could meddle in the minds of men and woman testified to their innate corruption. When Scottish men and women recorded their improper thoughts in self-writings, they did so with anxiety and often shame, regardless of whether these thoughts had demonic origins. They had heard many times from the pulpit that Satan and man's corruption were two sides of the same coin. Accordingly, early modern men and women often wrote of their own corruptions and the attending struggle against the dual threat of "the devil and an evil heart."[83]

James Nimmo articulated this relationship between the devil and man when he described the difficulty of making spiritual progress. As soon as he achieved some assurance of faith, "sathan and my corruptions and ivel heart being desperatlie wicked of it self strove to crush me and all I had attained of peace by terrors, feares, and discurradgments."[84] He wrote often of Satan and his "ivel heart" misleading him to trust his own strength instead of relying on God. [85] For example, in 1684, his father sent him money when his son was born. Thinking with his pocket book and not his conscience, Nimmo thought "to improve it" through an investment, without consulting God for advice. He lamented that " Sathan and my coruptiones prevailed too farr, the world

[82] Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England*, 47.
[83] See, for example, Adv. MS. 34.6.22, f. 20 and GD237/21/64, f. 9.
[84] Nimmo, *Narrative*, 9.
[85] Ibid.

coming too much in when ther was not a fit season…much disqwaietment of minde thereby prevailed, to the braiking of my bodey."[86] Experiences with Satan thus brought Nimmo to realize, through personal experience, the blindness of man emphasized in Reformed theology: "O how often may we see what we are by nature wer our eyes open. O hee [God] guides fooles."[87]

On July 14, 1639, the minister John Forbes of Corse wrote in his diary that "most of all we ought to fear and shun the wrath of God…Considering that sin angers God against us….by making us odious and abominable in the sight of God, who is of pure eyes than to behold evill, and he cannot look on iniquitie."[88] The gap between God's perfection and man's corruption was made all the more apparent by the natural affinity between man and Satan. On July 5, 1640, after hearing a sermon by the Aberdeen minister Alexander Scroggie, Forbes recorded his thoughts on sin, man and Satan. Of man, he averred that "because by sin had lost his primitive dignitie…so the whole posteritie of Adam is subject to the bondage of Satan, and the course of his world is to walk according to the prince of the power of the air…He that commiteth sin is of the devil for the devil sinneth from the beginning.."[89] Adam, like Satan, fell from grace due to sin and foolish pride. Given this sermonic emphasis, it was no surprise that in their self-writings, Scots identified their own depravity and Satan as intimate bedfellows.

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[86] Ibid., 63.
[87] Ibid., 62.
[88] CH12/18/6, 114. Forbes was a Scottish minister and theologian. He supported, with some moderation, episcopacy, though he hated the church policies of Charles I. A member of the "Aberdeen doctors", he was against the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. While he was opposed to the ecclesiastical ideas of the Presbyterian Covenanters, he was certainly a Calvinist in his theological outlook. In his diary, he discusses at length the wrath of God.
[89] Ibid., 238.

Reformed theology taught that, even at birth, individuals were totally corrupt. In a farewell address delivered to the "parents of the children of Eastwood," Thomas Locke, a teacher, warned of the susceptibility of children to Satan's wiles. Some children, he wrote, were:

> like wild highland colts…full of all wickedness by nature so that naturall wickedness gets leave to grow without any restraint put upon it and that naturall enmity against god and godliness gets leave to grow to a great hight till they become like the Ethiopian that cannot change his hew. Are there not some children before they can well speak they have the devill in their mouth… these looks not like souldiers of Jesus Christ, no they are yet followers of Sathan and it needs not be thought strange that it be so since by nature we are of our father the devil, and his works we will do as natively as fire casteth forth heat…[90]

All mankind, even infants, was so innately sinful that they would be drawn, by nature, to the devil. Locke went on to admonish the parents that "yow may assure your selves if yow be idle in teaching your children to know God and Christ…Sathan will not be idle to fill them with Atheism's hatred of God and godliness…"[91]

The main difference between man and Satan lay not in their innate goodness, but in the death of Christ, who gave humankind a chance at redemption. Around the age of eighteen, the anonymous author of a late seventeenth-century spiritual diary, presumably a minister, recorded his encounter with his own sinfulness: "all my sins were laid before me…my whole life was like ane act of sin, and that Hell was to receive me I said that I have deserved the hottest place in it...I have nothing that was good in me, a poor sinfull

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[90] Wod. Qu. LXXXII, f. 159. In this description of this folio he is described as the "parish catechist", which traditionally describes a Catholic position in the community. However, in a letter by Locke found in the same Wodrow volume, he admonished the episcopacy of the English church and wrote a treatise in favor of federal theology and predestination. Clearly, he was a Presbyterian, and likely the label of "parish catechist" meant that he was a religious teacher in the community.

[91] Ibid., f. 159.

creature, what is there in me that God should pardon me?"[92] He concluded that the Lord was merciful for keeping him out of hell, where he believed he deserved to be. Mistress Goodall echoed a similar sentiment in the 1660's, when she lamented "the depths of Satan's subtilty, and our depraved nature that he as to work upon" while simultaneously recognizing that "blessed be God that lets not Satan get the victory."[93] Many Scots articulated this profound gratitude toward God in their self-writings, for only divine providence delivered their feeble souls from the jaws of Satan.

Scottish minsters argued that this open reliance on God for deliverance from the devil was an outward sign of godliness. As Andrew Gray described in 1628

> I think many of us may be afraid that the devil dwels and keeps possession in many of our hearts, and alace! He is like to be a possessor of some of them perpetually...Was never one of you convinced to cry out that word, *Psal. 25 11. For thy Names sake, O Lord, pardon mine iniquity for it is great:* I say to such persons that was never convinced to cry out this, and were never convinced of the hard difficultie to [work] to the right keeping of your hearts, by all appearance the devil hath-your hearts in keeping for these whose hearts are in the hands of the devil, they are never sensible of their lost estate.[94]

Gray went on to list four other signs of having the devil in one's heart, all of which dealt with the ignorance of a man's conscience and the rejection of God's help. The men and women present at such sermons thus received not only warnings about Satan but also the motivation to rely on God in times of turmoil. The reception of this idea is apparent in the spiritual diaries that discussed in tandem the depravity of humans, demonic assaults, and the absolute dependence on God for spiritual relief.

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[92] Ch12/20/9, ff.5-6.
[93] Mistress Goodall, "Memoir," in *Select Biographies*, ii.484.
[94] Gray, *Directions and instigations*, 106.

This emphasis on the depravity of man, so essential to Reformed theology, persisted well into the eighteenth century. In 1713, the minister Ebenezer Erskine confessed in his diary that "I do not think ever there was a poor soul, that had the least spark of saving grace, in such a bad condition as I have been, for this long time past. A subtle devil, a deceitful heart, and an ensnaring world, have made a prey of me, and driven me before them, as a downright slave and captive."[95] In 1728, the minister John Stevenson told how, when meditating on the works of God, he came to realize that man was "the only creature, excepting devils, that ever disobeyed his holy, just, and good commandments, on which the depraved state of fallen man, and my own in particular, was more fully laid open to me than what I could well conceive before." He then began to think of how forgiving and loving God must be to forgive such a rebellious and sinful creature as man, and he was filled with joy.[96] Here again, the innate similarities between the devil and man were emphasized. These similarities, however, were what made God so forgiving and merciful; if man were not so debased, God's grace would have not been so extraordinary.

The preoccupation with Satan and one's own depravity testifies to the religious environment of post-Reformation Scotland. Most Scots attended church frequently and were exposed to preachers who expounded at length upon the corruption of man and the diligence of the devil. As Louise Yeoman puts it, these hell-fire and brimstone speeches had a purpose, which was "to convince men that their everyday selves were irremediably

[95] Ebenezer Erskine, *The Life and Diary of the Reverend Ebenezer Erskine*, ed. Donald Fraser (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1831), 94.
[96] Stevenson, "A Rare Soul-strengthening cordial," ii.417.

evil, and that their everyday paradigms of thinking were no good when it came to relating to God."[97] As the covenanting minister Robert Baillie warned the Presbytery of Irvine, men must "pray to God for our cause and Church: God will help us against all, men and devills: No man is to be trusted; the best is naturallie false."[98] Only through a conversion experience and the attending dependence on God could men and woman gain the ability to resist Satan and live life according to God's law.

The knowledge of man's depravity and susceptibility to the devil caused personal covenanting— the practice of entering into a contract with God— to be a defining feature of early modern Scottish religiosity. Covenanting provided a partial solution to the taxing and melancholic quest for conversion and assurance that dominated the Reformed Protestant experience. Personal covenants connected individuals to God through a statement of allegiance and godly purpose, while National Covenants engaged the nation in a contract with God to pursue an ongoing mission of moral reform.[99] Personal covenants usually began with an admission of one's sinful nature and the human reliance on God's mercy. At the turn of the century, the minister William Gordon, driven by the realization of his own spiritual baseness, recorded his personal covenant:

> having considered as I could, altho' not as I ought, my lost estate and condition by nature and my uncleaness and vileness by nature, all the powers of my soul being polluted by it and the bent of my inclination to sin, as also my innumerable transgressions of the first and second tables of the law and my inability to satisfy

[97] Louise Yeoman, "Heart-Work: Emotion, Empowerment and Authority in Covenanting Times" (PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1991), 11.
[98] Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637-1662*, 3 vols, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: The Bannatine Club, 1841), 350.
[99] See note 60, above.

> the justice of God for any of them, and thus God might most justly cast me out of his sight for ever for these my sins and transgressions…[100]

A key component of these covenants was to renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh, and to implicate oneself in a lifelong struggle against Satan. Both personal and National Covenants lent individual Scots a sense of a purpose and membership in a cause larger than themselves: to combat the actions of Satan and his followers, not only for their own fate, but for the fate of their beloved country.

Whether in the form of a personal covenant, an autobiography, or a spiritual diary, self-writing produced, at its core, a "history of the soul."[101] This introspective history chronicled the endeavors of devout Scots to resist Satan and embrace God. For some, like Mistress Rutherford, demonic experiences were characterized by spiritual terror and self-loathing. At the other end of the spectrum, divines like John Welwood clung to the idea of eternal relief from Satan in the Day of Judgment, believing that struggles against the devil were a painful yet necessary part of the godly life. But for almost all Scots, Satan was a constant reminder of his evil heart's proclivity to sin. The demonic experiences of each of these Scots entailed a deeply personal struggle and a hard look at oneself. For the godly, to experience Satan was to acknowledge one's own depravity.

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[100] William Gordon, "Personal Covenant of William Gordon," in *Protestant Piety,* 76. For other examples of personal covenants in Scotland, see John Stevenson, "A Rare Soul-Strengthening and Comforting Cordial," in *Select Biographies*, vol 2; Archibald Johnston of Wariston, "Diary", in *Protestant Piety,* ed. David Mullan; Alexander Brodie, *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and of his Son, James Brodie* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1863); James Cadwell, *The Countesse of Marres Arcadia, or Sanctuarie (*Edinburgh, 1625); GD 18/2093, Covenant of Sir. James Clerk of Penicuik; "An Account of the Particular Soliloquies and Covenant Engagements, past betwixt Mrs. Janet Hamilton, the defunct Lady of Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun," in *Select Biographies,* i.495-508; and Elizabeth West, *Memoirs, or Spiritual Exercises of Elisabeth West* (Edinburgh, 1724).

[101] Mullan's phrase. See David Mullan, "A Hotter Sort of Protestantism? Comparisons between French and Scottish Calvinisms," *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 39 (2008), 51.

Experiencing Satan in the British World

Reformed Protestantism deeply influenced the demonic beliefs of Scottish men and women across the social spectrum. The Reformed emphasis on divine sovereignty, double predestination, and human depravity lent the devil in Scotland a character distinct to the Calvinist brand of Protestantism. Of course, the theology and Protestant demonology ushered into Scotland by the currents of Reformation fervor were not singular or unique. This poses the question of how the personal experience of Satan as evidenced in Scottish self-writings compares to that in other Reformed Protestant areas.

Early modern England provides the most immediate and accessible starting point for understanding Scottish demonic belief in a comparative context. Throughout the early modern period, Scottish theologians maintained constant, sometimes contentious dialogue with their neighbors to the south. By the close of the sixteenth centuries, Reformed Protestantism deeply influenced theology as well as popular belief systems in England and Scotland, though the Reformations in the two countries took markedly different courses.[102] Due to these shared foundational premises, the demonic beliefs of English Puritans in particular often mirrored those of Scots also of the Calvinist ilk.[103] Reformed Protestants on both sides of the border upheld the supremacy of God as the foundation of demonic belief. As George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury and avid

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[102] See Chapter One, above.

[103] Puritan has long been a historiographically contested term, as it was during the early modern period. It remains challenging to define exactly who and what a "Puritan" is, not least because it was originally used as a pejorative term. For the purposes of this dissertation, which is not focused on the political and religious tension of the early modern English church, I use the terms Puritan and "godly" to denote the Protestants in England who were heavily influenced by Reformed theology and whose demonic belief often mirrored that of the Scottish Protestants. For a discussion of the term "Puritan", see Patrick Collinson, "A comment: concerning the name Puritan," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 483-8.

Protestant, wrote in 1600, "Satan and his factours worke their exploits by limitation and by leaue, for they depend on the Lord, and as if they were tyed in a chaine, they cannot exceede one hairebredth of that which is graunted vnto them."[104] Yet despite God's ultimate control over the acts of Satan, these theologians increasingly presented the devil as the powerful, ever-present "Prince of this World." As Englishmen Thomas Becon averred in 1564

> It is unknowen how great how mightye, and of what puissance [great power] the kingdome of Satan is…There is no ravening wolfe that so earnestly seeketh greedelye to devoure his praye as the enemye of mankynde, that olde serpent, [who] hunteth and studyeth every moment of an hour howe he maye destroy and brynge to everlasting damnacion mortall menne.[105]

With the belief in an increasingly active devil providing the foundation, Reformed Protestants in England also emphasized the threat of demonic temptation in daily life.[106]

In their studies of the devil in post-Reformation England, Darren Oldridge and Nathan Johnstone emphasize characteristics of English demonic belief that were also prevalent in Scotland.[107] Oldridge argues that the ideas of Protestantism led to a concept of the devil in which demonic physicality was eschewed in favor of the mental threat posed by Satan. Johnstone also highlights how Protestant Reformers believed subversion to be the greatest weapon in Satan's arsenal. Rather than a complete abandonment of traditional Catholic demonology, in England "a characteristically Protestant demonism

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[104] George Abbot, *An exposition vpon the prophet Jonah Contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* (London, 1600).
[105] Thomas Becon, *The Workes of Thomas Becon* (London, 1564), i.390-391.
[106] On the importance of demonic temptation among Protestants in England, see Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism* and Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*.
[107] See my introduction for a more extensive discussion of the ways in which this dissertation is in dialogue with the works of Johnstone and Oldridge.

emerged from a subtle realignment of emphasis rather than attack upon tradition."[108] Both Oldridge and Johnstone demonstrate that despite any persistence of "medieval" ideas about the devil, for the godly in England, Protestantism lent the devil a "new importance in religious life."[109]

In England as in Scotland, Satan was expected, theologically and experientially, to become a lifelong companion of the godly. As minister Richard Sibbes preached to a London congregation in the 1630's, the devil aimed to "build his nest" in the human heart.[110] English Reformers contended that the success of Satan relied upon the innate sinfulness of men and women— as in Scotland, this fundamental Protestant conviction shaped the demonological ideas of Puritan theologians. These beliefs about the devil were made manifest in the angst-ridden English spiritual diaries, in which self-identified godly men and women struggled with concerns about Satan, sin, and personal salvation. The godly interpreted any doubt or impure thoughts that entered their minds as a product of diabolic temptation, which sermons and published devotional writings had conditioned them to expect. As one Elizabethan gentlewoman wrote, "sin and corruption conceived in the heart of man is the spawn of the Devil."[111] Fear of the devil's mental, and sometimes physical, intrusions loomed large in the minds of the English Puritans.

Paul Seaver's *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* provides a particularly illuminating glimpse into how Reformed Protestant

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[108] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 1-2.
[109] Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*, 23.
[110] Richard Sibbes, *The Saints Safetie in Evill Times* (London, 1643), 6.
[111] Grace Mildmay, "Lady Mildmay's Meditations," in *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman*, ed. L.A. Pollock (London: Collins & Brown, 1993), 81.

thought shaped the demonic beliefs of one London artisan. In 1619, during one particularly intense episode of inner-turmoil, Nehemiah Wallington felt that the devil would not leave him alone and became convinced that anyone who tried to help him escape his sorry state was Satan in disguise. He told his father that "the Devil can come in any likeness," and he found himself believing that friends and family members, and even his own shoes, were the devil in a different guise.[112] Eventually, in 1621 Wallington experienced a conversion and divine deliverance, albeit temporarily, from the "eleven sore temptations of Satan" that had afflicted him during the years 1618-19.[113]

Johnstone claims that while "diabolic affliction" allowed "people to express their trust by relying completely on him to ultimately constrain the Devil," God did not "intercede directly" against Satan in times when the godly despaired most.[114] In Scottish self-writings, however, as in Wallington's account above, God seems to have directly intervened to alleviate demonic experiences. One brief but dramatic Scottish example, already discussed above, comes from the conversion narrative of Mistress Rutherford. When she was a teenager, she was tormented by guilt and fear at the thought of her own sins and fallen state. For the second time in her life, she seriously considered suicide, detailing how "Satan tempted me to put violence hands in my self."[115] Soon after, the Lord dissuaded her from self-destruction by filling her with "inexpressible joy" during

[112] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, 24.
[113] Ibid., 15.
[114] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 61.
[115] Rutherford, "Narrative," 166.

sermon time.[116] While this was not a physical intervention on the part of God, divine intercession directly spared Rutherford from a tragic end. Scottish spiritual diaries abound with similar examples. Regardless of whether or not God's intervention against the devil can be labeled as "direct," what these English and Scottish examples demonstrate is that demonic belief served, for the godly, to reinforce through experience the necessity and totality of human reliance on God.

One important difference between Scottish and English demonic encounters was the lack of detailed physical descriptions of the devil in Scotland. In England, Protestant authors recorded descriptions of Satan in "a remarkable variety of forms," recounting the sights, smells, and sounds of their demonic encounters. In one particularly colorful account, the preacher John Rogers reported how the devil and his helpers had tormented him "in severall ugly shapes and forms (according to my fancies) and sometimes with great rolling flaming eyes like sawcers, having fire-brands in one of their hands, and with the other reaching at me to tear me away to torment."[117] These experiences seem to have mimicked the medieval depictions of Satan and of Hell, which were found in printed woodcuts even after the Reformation in England. [118] In Scotland, however, encounters with Satan were more often mental and emotional rather than visual, involving the words or sounds of the devil. Satan often whispered in godly ears, but appeared less frequently as a vision or physical being. When Scots did claim to have seen the devil, they usually were ill or asleep, and as such provided only terse descriptions of Satan in their accounts.

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[116] Ibid.
[117] Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*, 41-43.
[118] For a discussion of images of Satan in English pamphlet literature, see Oldridge, *Devil in England*, 145-7.

This difference was due, in part, to the fact that Scots were exposed to far fewer images of the devil than were their English counterparts. The hyper- iconoclasm of Reformed Protestantism led not only to white-washed church walls, but also to dearth of images from the printing press. Part of this is logistical, as the Scottish print industry lagged behind England, producing little popular "cheap print" until the latter half of the seventeenth century.[119] Even after 1700, printed broadsides still contained very few images at all. The Protestant de-emphasis of the physicality of the devil bled into spiritual diaries, as reduced exposure to images of Satan combined with the emphasis on internal demonic threats to create a dearth of colorful descriptions of the devil.[120]

The most important difference between demonic beliefs in England versus Scotland lies not in kind or quality, but in societal breadth and depth. To a considerable extent, this stemmed from the profoundly divergent courses of the British Reformations and the attending fact that zealous Protestantism was always a minority culture in England. The Reformed Protestant brand of internal, experiential demonic belief found along the godly in England and Scotland did not characterize the English population as a whole. As Oldridge contends, "the rest of the population, characterized by the Essex pastor George Clifford as the 'common sort of Christians,' retained many pre-

[119] On printing in Scotland, see Alasdair J. Man, "The Anatomy of the Printed Book in Early Modern Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 80 (2001): 181-200 and Chapter Five, below. For a discussion of the proliferation of broadsides in early modern England, see Tessa Watt's foundational Work, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[120] Descriptions of the devil in cases of Scottish witchcraft were also surprisingly quotidian, and very rarely monstrous or grotesque as in elsewhere in Europe. On this point, see Chapter Six, below, and Miller, "Men in Black," in *Witchcraft and Belief*.

Reformation ideas about the devil."[121] Tellingly, the more thoroughly Reformed Scotland was frequently seen by its southern neighbors as a hot bed of religious adherence and enthusiasm, a characterization that could be positive or negative depending on the observer.[122] Accordingly, the intense preoccupation with sin, salvation, and the devil was not as widespread or thorough England as it was in Scotland, where Reformed Protestantism had planted deeper social and cultural roots.

Of all the places where the devil ran rampant in the early modern world, few shared more in common in terms of religious ideology than did Scotland and Puritan New England. Though the ecclesiological theories of the Scottish kirk and New England church differed markedly, both communities constructed their individual lives around a potent set of ideas prescribed by Reformed theology.[123] A colony settled by zealous Protestants who left England outraged by the Laudian influence on church practice and policy, New England was from the start a bastion of Reformed Protestantism. As in Scotland, a parish-based system of ecclesiastical discipline facilitated the spread and maintenance of Puritan ideas and practices among ordinary New Englanders. Even though they held a wide range of religious beliefs, the result was a general populace

[121] Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*, 3.

[122] One telling but probably exaggerated anecdote comes from the early eighteenth century, when several English authors noted that unlike in England, bible ownership was nearly universal in Scotland. See Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 516. Benedict rightly notes that these English authors may have spoken with some exaggeration, in the attempt to chide their fellow Englishmen into more usual and zealous reading of scripture.

[123] The Scottish Kirk was arranged around a Presbyterian system, whereas the New England church was invested in a system of congregational independence, which lacked the centralization and hierarchy of the Presbyterian system. Despite these structural differences, the theologies of the Scottish and New England churches were remarkably similar in their adherence to strict Reformed Protestant principles such as the covenant and predestination.

deeply concerned with the preservation of a godly society and the attending struggle against Satan.[124]

This communal awareness of the devil was, as in Scotland, largely a product of pastoral discussions of the devil. Satan was a favorite topic of Puritan ministers, who, finding themselves in a both a figurative and literal wilderness, viewed the struggles of the New England community as part of the larger cosmic battle between good and evil, God and Satan.[125] Like those in Scotland, New England ministers were apt to describe the devil in grandiose terms: "Satan is the grand enemy of all mankind…He is the original, the fountain of malice, the instigation of all contrariety, malignity, and enmity."[126] Many Puritans believed that this demonic malice was especially directed at the brave souls who had colonized New England, a heathen world once under the domain of Satan. As Cotton Mather wrote in *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1692), "never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsetling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here

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[124] Some historians, most famously Richard Godbeer in his examination of the relationship between orthodox religion and magic in New England, have contended that while the Puritan authorities relegating any and all deviations from prescribed orthodoxy to be the devil's handiwork, ordinary people did not have a problem with magic unless it was intended to cause harm. The association of magic with Satan was an elite imposition rather than a common folk belief. See Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion*: *Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[125] For a thorough and controversial discussion of this "wilderness" mentality as a motive for Puritan emigration to North America, see Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); For more on the New England ministry, see David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd; A History Of The New England Ministry In The Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

[126] Deodat Lawson, *Christ's Fidelity the Only Shield Against Satan's Malignity* (London, 1714), 15.

Planted…"[127] Despite the fact that both Scotland and New England enjoyed extended periods of theological dominance, ministers in both areas capitalized on tension with England and the notion of religious exclusivity to create a unified godly mentality among its parishioners. The battle against Satan was integral to this aim, as it provided individuals with a common enemy and shared personal purpose.

While historians continue to debate the division and convergence of "elite" and "popular" religion in New England, it is clear that concern for the devil in New England extended beyond theological writings and sermons. Unsurprisingly, like the godly self-writings found in early modern Scotland and England, the spiritual diaries of New England reveal the introspective self-examination that was a trademark of personal piety among Anglosphere Reformed Protestants.[128] Here again, Satan figured prominently in these often angst-ridden accounts of sin and self. Surprisingly few diaries actually survive from seventeenth-century, but the ones that do are illustrative of the now-familiar concern with the devil and his unwanted but inevitable interventions in human life.[129] The personal piety of Reformed Protestants in Scotland, and among Puritans in England and New England, thus revolved around the internal, demonically induced struggles with

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[127] Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693). The language of Satan's special envy and assault of Puritans in New England recalls the New Israel mentality of Scottish divines. Andrew Cant, in lamenting Scotland's satanically inspired troubles, also used the horticultural language of God's planting his truth in the harsh Scottish landscape: "Long ago our gracious God was pleased to visit this nation with the light of His glorious Gospel, by planting a vineyard in, and making His glory to arise upon Scotland. A wonder! that so great a God should shine on so base a soil…. How far other nations outstripped her in naturals, as far did she out-go them in spirituals….But alas! Satan envied our happiness, brake our ranks, poisoned our fountains, mudded and defiled our streams." See James Kerr, ed. *The Covenants And The Covenanters: Covenants, Sermons, and Documents of the Covenanted Reformation.* (Edinburgh: RW Hunter,1895) 77-8.

[128] See Chapter Seven, below.

[129] Baird Tipson, "The Routinized Piety of Thomas Shepard's Diary," *Early American Literature*, 13 (1978), 65.

sin and self. These experiences with Satan, as we shall see in the final chapter of this dissertation, would have a profound influence on lived realities and individual identities throughout the Anglophone world.

Conclusion

When considering the many roles that Satan played in the spiritual experiences of godly Scots—as a tempter, a reminder of man's depravity and God's mercy, an agent of divine wrath, a confirmation of human weakness and the doctrine of election—it is tempting to functionalize the devil in early modern Scotland. In many ways, the devil was in fact a psychological tool that allowed early modern Scots to better understand themselves, their faiths, and their communities. This does not imply, however, that the experience of the devil was not intensely real for and personalized to the authors of these accounts. Nathan Johnstone has argued that "in functionalizing diabolic assault by rationalizing it was a palliative for something else— vulnerability of conscience and devotional weakness- there is a tendency to present the experience of the demonic as largely a retrospective process of narrative creation."[130] Viewing the devil as imbued with meanings about sin and weakness does not mean that demonic experiences were only used as some sort of narrative tool to highlight broader ideas about man's weakness, though this was certainly sometimes the case. Nor does this interpretation negate the constant, experiential struggle with the devil faced by the godly. Rather, the fact that the devil represented a whole array of early modern preoccupations with sin and salvation

[130] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 23.

made the experience of the devil all the more present and tangible— and indeed, worth recording for posterity.

To truly understand how belief in the devil affected individual lives, spiritual self-writings must be considered as specific to the particular personalities and contexts which produced them. At the same time, experiences with Satan reveal the complexities of inner piety as well as individual and communal expectations. When considering the large body of demonic experiences found in Scottish self-writings, the distinct pattern that emerges requires some analysis. As demonstrated above, encounters with Satan generally adhered to a cycle of demonically induced sin or doubt, followed by fear of God and the devil, and finally relief provided by God's mercy and the knowledge of election. What does this pattern reveal about the broader role of Satan in early modern Scottish society? For the authors of the self-writings considered in this chapter, encounters with the devil produced two interconnected results. First, beliefs about and experiences with Satan both clarified and confirmed key tenets of Reformed theology: Man was irredeemably sinful by nature; godly life entailed a battle against Satan and oneself; salvation lay solely in the hands of God, who was both wrathful and merciful; and election would bring final victory to the true believer. Through struggles with the devil, these Scots came to understand, in an experiential rather than theoretical way, the components of Reformed Protestantism. By serving as a metric for godliness, symbolizing the innate depravity of man, and affirming the absolute sovereignty of God, the Protestant devil buttressed the reformed theology whence he came.

Second, encounters with Satan helped Scots to define themselves through religious experience. It was in their darkest hours, when confronted with deeply personal fears, that Scottish men and women most ardently embraced their faith and identified themselves as the godly. Through this process, these Scots hoped to identify their membership in a community of the elect whose roots lay with the Israelites of the Old Testament, a community for which struggles against Satan were inherent and necessary events. As these self-writings attest, Reformed Protestantism in Scotland entailed an intensely emotional, internal journey, to realize one's election and to lead a godly life in word, deed, and thought. Through years of soul-searching, the Scottish men and women discussed in this chapter sought to counteract their evil natures with divine aspirations. Though election was predestined, godliness was a life-long process in which the devil played a leading role.

Chapter Five: Satan on the Streets

From the beginning of the Reformation in 1560 through the seventeenth century, demonic belief permeated Scottish culture in a remarkable number of ways. The devil dominated theological writings and sermons, appeared frequently in court records, and profoundly influenced the emotional lives of the godly. In the church and the courtroom, on the streets and in the self-writings of individuals, belief in Satan pervaded personal and public discourse. This chapter examines the communal, published evidence of the devil's actions as they appeared in broadsides of murders and dying accounts. By the close of the sixteenth century in Scotland, the devil—and the theological notions of his actions— had become central to how both individuals and communities understood crime, guilt, and death. In turn, all of these events served to reiterate the constant and consequential presence of Satan in daily life.

This chapter asks how printed reports of murders, narratives of executions, and dying accounts reflect the ways in which ideas about Satan were disseminated and absorbed (or altered) by the wider Scottish public. How did ideas about the devil found in printed accounts of crime and death compare to the demonic belief found at the theological, personal, and institutional levels? The primary function of the devil in printed works was to reify the universality of demonic temptation and to make manifest to a wide audience the admonitions about Satan and sin so often disseminated from the pulpit and experienced in spiritual diaries. Ultimately, these sources demonstrate the blending of demonic beliefs that occurred across the social spectrum and the varied yet shared concept of Satan that profoundly influenced Scottish culture and identity.

Printing slowly flourished in Scotland following the Reformation in 1560, as religious tracts, prayers, and sermons circulated throughout the country, reflecting the reforming zeal of the newly Protestant nation.[1] Political proclamations, commentaries, and satire were also increasingly published in pamphlet form, amidst the turmoil of events such as Mary Queen of Scots' death, the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and the Bishops' Wars of the mid-century.[2] In the later seventeenth century, these religious and political works began to be progressively accompanied by the printing of popular broadside recountings of murder, infanticide, and other sensationalist crimes to a slowly but increasingly literate Scottish audience.[3] Dying accounts and last words, often in ballad or poem form, also made a printed foray into the public discourse in the form of broadsides.

These types of popular broadsides were certainly not absent in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but they were vastly overshadowed by the focus on religious works such as sermons, especially when compared to the proliferation of broadsides in

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[1] Alasdair J. Man, "The Anatomy of the Printed Book in Early Modern Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review*
80 (2001), 187.

[2] For a discussion of political satire in sixteenth-century Scottish broadsides, see Tricia A. McElroy, "Imagining the 'Scottis Natioun': Populism and Propaganda in Scottish Satirical Broadsides," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47 (2007): 319-339.

[3] In Scotland, urban literacy, judged by the ability to sign one's name, hovered around 50% in the 1630s for men, 10-20% for rural areas; much less for women. As one moves forward in time through the 17th century, literacy in Scotland did steadily increase, mainly among urban, middling sorts. In most areas of Scotland literacy rates remained well-below 50% until the 18th century, when literacy proliferated across the social spectrum. See R.A. Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland, 1630- 1760", *Past and Present* 96 (1982):81-102; John Bannerman, "Literacy in the Highlands," in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, eds Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 214-235.

England during that time.[4] In the early modern period, stories of murder, witchcraft, and other crimes pervaded the English pulp press. By the second half of the sixteenth century, these salacious stories were a staple of the literature produced in London and sold throughout the country. The situation was quite different in Scotland, where, according to Aldis's *List of Books Published in Scotland before 1700*, Robert Sempill's *Deploration of the cruell murther of James Earle of Moray* (1570) was the only murder pamphlet published in Scotland until 1679, when *Narrative of the murther of the Archbp. of St. Andrews* was published in Edinburgh. Aldis's list is not totally indicative of all the works circulated in Scotland, as it only includes those works that contained "some definite indication of Scottish origin." [5] Doubtlessly works of foreign origin— especially those from England— were disseminated widely in Scotland. However, the absence of crime literature until the late seventeenth century, compared to the relatively voluminous publication of sermons, catechisms, other religious works, and royal and parliamentary proclamations, demonstrates the rather late proliferation of sensationalist street literature in Scotland.[6]

The dearth of sensationalist cheap print in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may indicate that, beyond the preferences of printers, the literate Scottish public lacked a taste for such tabloid literature. The market for print until the early eighteenth century in Scotland was dominated by the educated elite, the majority of whom were committed

[4] For a discussion of the proliferation of broadsides in early modern England, see the foundational work, Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[5] Harry Gildney Aldis, *List of Books Published in Scotland before 1700: Including those Printed furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers*, revised edition (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1970), xvi.
[6] Ibid, 144.

Calvinists more interested in reforming sermons than salacious murder stories. Moreover, printing itself greatly expanded in the seventeenth century, when ten times as many books, pamphlets, and newspapers were printed than in the sixteenth century.[7] Purchasing power among ordinary Scots grew during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well, augmenting market demand for cheap literature. Consequently, the broadsides discussed in this chapter come primarily from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century. T

The majority of the nearly 2,000 broadsides that exist in the National Library of Scotland's digital collection, the primary bibliographical source for this chapter, date from the early eighteenth century. Of course, this collection should not be taken as representative of the total number that were printed in early modern Scotland. It is very likely that many earlier broadsides simply have not withstood the wear and tear of time and are no longer extant. Though this chapter analyzes a limited number of broadsides and ballads, the varied selection of broadsides detailing murders, executions, and last words represented here provides a useful snapshot of Satan's role in the printed pamphlets from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[8] Comparing these works with the demonic presence in early modern English crime literature, which has been the

[7] Mann, "Anatomy of the Printed Book," 188. Mann bases this number on the Aldis *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700.* In the eighteenth century this number of printed works grew even more, especially with the intellectual contributions of the Scottish Enlightenment.

[8] The research for this chapter has relied primarily on broadsides from the National Library of Scotland's digital broadside collection, which holds over 1,800 broadsides from 1650 and 1910. In conducting research for this chapter, I closely read approximately fifty of them that discuss the role of the devil in crimes, primarily from the century between 1650 and 1750. Unless otherwise noted, the broadsides cited in this chapter come from this NLS collection and were composed by an anonymous author.

subject of a variety of studies, brings the relationship of Satan to crime and death in Scotland into increasingly clear focus.[9]

Affordable and available to many Scots and far-less complicated reads than theological treatises and sermons, broadsides served as the sensationalist tabloids of the day while also espousing religious ideas and didactic warnings. These broadsides certainly promoted certain moral norms and expectations— many were probably composed by clergymen— while simultaneously pandering to the interests of a wider audience in order to sell in the first place.[10] The question of audience is one that has long fascinated historians of print culture. In Scotland, as the literacy of the public slowly grew in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, more and more Scots were able to consume cheap print and were thus increasingly targeted by publishers.[11] According to the National Library of Scotland's digital collection of Scottish Broadsides,

> most broadsides, which cost one penny (around 16 pence in today's money), were just about within the means of most working people, whereas quality prints at an

[9] For a few of the most important, see *Malcolm Gaskill, Crime and mentalities* in *early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); James Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England* 1550 - 1750 (London: Longman, 1984); Peter Lake, "Deeds Against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth Century England," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 257-83; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*: *Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[10] Peter Lake has humorously likened the crime stories of early modern England to "the literary equivalent of a John Carpenter film." They had to titillate the reader in order to sell. See Lake, "Deeds Against Nature," 259.

[11] Though many Scots may not have been officially literate, we should not underestimate their ability to read substantial parts of printed broadsides. As Margaret Spurford and others have argued, though literacy rates were gauged based upon the ability to sign one's name, this grossly underestimates reading ability, which was usually taught before writing throughout Europe. See Margaret Spufford, "First Steps in Literacy: the Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Autobiographers," *Social History* 4 (1979): 407-35. See also Watt, *Cheap Print*, 7.

> average of 2s 6d each were well beyond the means of the working class and even lower middle class artisans. Some ballads cost as little as half a penny. [12]

Despite the ability of the working class to purchase them, Scottish broadsides ought not to be viewed as directed at a specific group of people. Usually sold in bustling urban areas such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, but also distributed in more rural areas by travelling merchants known as hawkers, these broadsides reached a wide array of men and women throughout Scotland.[13] In her work on cheap print in early modern England, Tessa Watt demonstrates that cheap print could serve as "an instrument of social cohesion, as more people were brought into the reading public, and as stories, images and values permeated the multiple tiers of English society."[14] Scottish broadsides served a similar function, as they both informed and reflected ideas about the devil held by Scots from across the social spectrum.

The ability of cheap print to cross social categories is precisely what renders the study of broadsides crucial to understanding the place of the devil in wider Scottish culture. That the Scottish people had developed a taste for salacious broadsides by the early eighteenth century is apparent; what is more obscure is how much the appearance of the devil in street literature reflects public sentiment about Satan. The moralizing about the devil in broadsides not only served the didactic purpose of the oft-anonymous authors, but also reflected the complex but shared demonic beliefs of the Scottish public. The powerful presence of the devil in cheap print reveals how pervasive Reformed

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[12] National Library of Scotland, "The Word on the Street," http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides. Accessed on February 15, 2012.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 5.

demonic ideas, beyond the walls of the kirk, had become in Scottish society. These ideas served to cement the distinction between good and evil members of society while simultaneously making manifest the ubiquity of the devil and the danger of his temptations for all men and women. These broadsides served a similar purpose— though executed in a more entertaining and digestible fashion— as early modern Scottish sermons: to persuade readers to choose a "good" path and identity for themselves by vigilantly protecting their weak hearts from the incursions of Satan.

"A Murderer from the Beginning"[15]

Satan appeared often in the printed accounts of trials and executions of murderers and in the elegies for the victims of these crimes. Early modern Scots firmly believed that the influence of Satan lay at the heart of earthly events, ranging from minor cases of slander to heinous murders. The Scottish historian R.A. Houston has pointed out the lack of demonic agency in cases of suicide in early modern Scotland, using this dearth to contend that "the Scots were sparing in attributing any bad things to the Devil."[16] This assertion, though perhaps true in cases of suicide, does not hold true for the role of Satan in Scottish culture more generally. Throughout the early modern period and into the eighteenth centuries, Scots pointed to—and in the case of the kirk sessions, also called upon— Satan as the orchestrator of temptation and harm. This demonic involvement applied to individual actions as well as moral failings of the community. This is not to

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[15] John 8:44 of the King James Version (1611) recounts Jesus's debate with the Pharisees, in which he said to them: "Ye are of *your* father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do: he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it."

[16] R.A. Houston, *Punishing the Dead: Suicide, Lordship, and Community in Britain, 1500-1800* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 293.

say that crimes could be explained with a simple "the devil made me do it." Rather, belief in the devil's ability and proclivity to lure people to sin stemmed from a dynamic combination of biblical foundations, personal experiences, and affirmations of human frailty.[17] These demonic ideas came to the fore in reports of murder, published in broadsides and sold to an audience eager to read about the dark and scandalous deeds of others.

Often the language of crime literature borrowed heavily from scripture and mirrored that of early modern Scottish sermons. This is unsurprising considering that many of the broadsides' authors were probably clergymen. In 1717, Owen Brady, a Dublin resident, murdered his two children. The story quickly reached Edinburgh and was printed in a broadside that portrayed the murder, and the devil's involvement therein, in biblical terms: "The Devil as a Roaring Lion goes continually about seeking whom he may Devore, he is constantly in his Watch, ready to seize his unguarded Prey, and to seduce unhappy inconsiderate Men into Everlasting Ruin, and yet we Live as if there were no Danger…"[18] Brady's murderous actions confirmed the warning about the devil's tirelessness issued in 1 Peter 5:8, a familiar passage from contemporary Protestant sermons throughout the British Isles. The brief text of the broadside closed with a warning to others "to give no way to Jealousy the Fiend of Hell, and to Teach us tho' we are Poor not to distrust God's Mercy's, which are great and boundless: least he in His

[17] See Chapters One and Two, above.
[18] *A Full and True Account of A most Horrid, Barbarous, and Bloody Murther Committed by Owen Brady* (Dublin and Edinburgh, 1717).

Anger shou'd justly give us over to Hell and destruction."[19] In this admonition, the rages of Satan and the spiritual poverty of men were contrasted with the greatness of God, without whom many individuals would meet the same tragic end as Brady had.[20]

In a 1702 broadside ballad, Jannet Riddle confessed that as she contemplated the murder of her only child, "the Div'l helpt me to go on, and paved out the way."[21] Though this last confession, as with many others, was written d entirely from a first person perspective, it was likely composed by a professional broadside writer. Nonetheless, belief in the demonic instigation of a crime as heinous as infanticide would have been readily accepted by an early modern audience long educated in the dangers of Satan's temptations. This particular ballad ends with the interesting assertion that the public should be happy to hear of the supposed author's execution: "Farewel O People, be you fil'd/ with Joy, for I do Die/ For Murthering of my only Child/ which' twixt my Sides did lye."[22]

A pamphlet detailing the murders committed by William Bolamgall reiterated this influence of the devil on the abhorrent actions of men and women. In 1721, Bolamgall killed three victims who were staying in his father's home near Edinburgh. The murders were presented as motiveless, caused exclusively by "the Devil entering into the Heart of

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[19] Ibid.

[20] It is worth noting that at the time this pamphlet was published in Ireland, English Protestants dominated the government and the printing press in Ireland, explaining the dominance of Protestant ideas in a murder story such as this one. Nonetheless, the reference to 1 Peter 5:8 and the belief that Satan lay behind some of the heinous actions of men and women should not be seen as exclusive to Protestantism. See Chapter One, above, for a fuller discussion of the similarities and differences between Protestant and Catholic demonology.

[21] *The last Speech and Confession of Jannet Riddle* (Edinburgh, 1702)

[22] Ibid.

the said William Bolamgal, Tempting him to commit these horrid Murders upon three Innocent Persons."[23] The issue of the devil's entering the heart, rather than the mind or the soul, reflects the common theme of the need to protect one's heart from the incursions of Satan. The tale of the murder also included the suggestion that had it not been for the "LORD'S Providence," the whole house might have befallen the same fate. This theme of God's subversion of demonic wiles recalls the self-writings of Scots, as well as the hope for eventual victory found in many post-Reformation sermons.

One of the more sensationalized murder cases of the early eighteenth century was that of Mr. Robert Irvine, executed in 1717 for the murder of John and Alexander Gordon, two of his students. Three separate broadsides recounting the sordid details of the crime were published in Edinburgh. Two of these detailed the last confession of Irvine, and the other laid out the facts of the murder, trial, and execution. In these broadsides, Irvine provided two related answers for why he had committed such heinous crimes. When initially interrogated as to what "induced him to commit so horrid Wickedness," he claimed that "it was a Temptation of the Devil."[24] Here again appeared the common belief that Satan underlay man's basest actions. To succumb to the temptations of the devil was, however, acknowledged by Irvine to be his own active choice. He confessed to ministers before his death that "he could distinguish between

[23] *An Account of a Horrid and Bloody Murder* (Edinburgh, 1720).
[24] *The Whole Trial, Confession and Sentence, OF Mr. Robert Irvine* (Edinburgh, 1717).

Good and Evil, been a great Sinner, and had never spent so much as one Day as he ought to have done."[25]

After further prodding, Irvine provided an additional explanation for his crime. According to the words of his last confession:

> After he had been often asked what prompted him to so monstrous a Crime, he could give no tolerable Account of it; but when he was pressed a little on this Head, he said before many Witnesses, That the Predestinarian Principles had led him into it. And being ask'd where he learned these Principles, he said from a Book he had out of the College Library.
> And being ask'd what Book that was, he answered, one of Flavel's.[26]

John Flavel, a late seventeenth-century English Presbyterian clergyman, had published extensively on the tenets of Reformed Protestant theology, including "the Predestinarian Principles" cited by Irvine.[27] What is fascinating here is that Irvine explicitly cited the concept of predestination, along with Satan, as an impetus for committing murder. Unfortunately, the broadside's author moved immediately from this admission to Irvine's pre-death expressions of guilt about his crime, so precisely how the "predestinarian principles" influenced his actions remains cloudy. Irvine was clearly an educated man, as a teacher of some sort, but he was far from a man of the cloth. Though his specific interpretation of predestination is unclear, it seems likely that he understood salvation to be out of his hands. At the devil's provocation, he acted on his basest instincts, possibly believing that he was already damned. This is speculation, but nonetheless Irvine's

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[25] *The Last Confession of Mr. Robert Irvine* (Edinburgh 1717).
[26] Ibid.
[27] John Flavel's principle works included *Navigation Spiritualized* (London, 1671); *The Fountain of Life, in forty-two Sermons* (London, 1672); *The Method of Grace* (London, 1680); *Pneumatologia, a Treatise on the Soul of Man* (London, 1698); *A Token for Mourners; Husbandry Spiritualized* (London, 1699). The majority of Flavel's works were also published in Edinburgh during the late seventeenth century.

admission is a compelling example of how this particular element of Reformed Protestantism, with its emphasis on the power of demonic temptation, incited a spiritually-weak man to action.

Beyond Satan's involvement in tempting individuals to sin, broadsides recounting murders also implicated the devil in causing the moral backslide of the Scottish community as a whole. The account of the murder of John Campbell in 1723, killed by his cousin in a drunken brawl, reiterated this larger influence of the devil on Scottish society. Here the author used the murder to chastise a morally lax public. Beginning with a description of how Scotland was once a beacon of morality, the broadside then detailed how Satan had usurped the place of prior godliness. "Did not daily Experience too plainly evidence," the author implored, "that Hell is broke loose 'mongst nominal Christians, who poisoned by his [Satan's] infernal Philters commit Murder in the Face of the Sun?"[28] This particular case mimicked the language of a sermon delivered by covenanter Andrew Cant nearly a century before, in 1638:

> Long ago our gracious God was pleased to visit this nation with the light of His glorious Gospel, by planting a vineyard in, and making His glory to arise upon Scotland...But alas! Satan envied our happiness, brake our ranks, poisoned our fountains, mudded and defiled our streams; and while the watchmen slept, the wicked one sowed his tares…. Truth is fallen in the streets, our dignity is gone, our credit lost, our crown is fallen from our heads; our reputation is turned to imputation.[29]

Both Cant's sermon and the broadside detailing the murder of John Campbell contrasted the imagery of the "sun" or "light" of God with Satan's "poisoning" of the Scottish

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[28] *A True and distinct Account Of the Murder of James Campbel of Lawers* (Edinburgh, ca.1723).
[29] James Kerr, ed. *The Covenants And The Covenanters: Covenants, Sermons, and Documents of the Covenanted Reformation.* (Edinburgh: RW Hunter,1895), 77-8.

community. Concern for this poisoning of the true faith, and the individuals and communities that held this faith, had clearly preoccupied the Scottish clergy from the early days of the Scottish Reformation. Through sermons, kirk sessions, and eventually broadsides, this concern for Satan seeped into and shaped the culture of a nation ripe with apocalyptic anticipation.

In a particularly tragic account of the brutal death of John Halden in 1721, a poor boy seeking work in Edinburgh, the anonymous author singled out Satan as a source of not only the boy's violent end, but also of Scotland's general moral decay.[30] This blame for the murder did not originate solely with Satan, but equally with the actions of the fallen Scottish community. The author expressed hope that the murder of Halden would "quicken Christians to Repentance and induce us to lay seriously to Heart our horrid Provocations, which tempts God to give up so many Persons to the Conduct of Satan and their own Lusts."[31] In keeping with the Reformed belief in divine sovereignty, the author credited God with allowing Satan to influence the actions of Scots. Most striking about this particular broadside was the implication of the whole community in the murder of John Halden, as if all of Edinburgh—or even Scotland— had contributed to his destruction. As Nathan Johnstone points out in his study of crime literature in England, "exposes of the Devil's agency were often also exposes of society's negligence in

[30] *A Faithful Narrative of The Circumstances of the Cruelty committed upon the Body of John Halden* (1721).
[31] Ibid.

opposing it."[32] According to this broadside, both the devil and a spiritually negligent public had incited the barbarous actions of the murderer.

Another 1723 murder case, reported in the form of a poetic elegy, told of the tragic death of Elizabeth Murray at the hands of her husband Thomas Kincaid. The poem began with a lamentation of the sad spiritual state of Scotland and the rampant activities of the devil:

> So, there are terrible unlucky Times
> (For Providence corrects enormous Crimes)
> When Satan spreads Contagion in the Mind,
> With Mischief, and with Madness damns Mankind
> The Venom or the Asp, with Tumors swell,
> And turgide grows and ripens unto Hell…
> When Villany it's impious Head shall rear,
> In Querpo, strut and Satan's Liv'ry wear ;
> And this we by a sad Experience know,
> We feel th' Effects of Sin, and Heav'ns weighty blow:
> Mens Principles, and Practices contend,
> The Devil's Empire for to recommend :
> It's hard to say (the Times are so accurs'd)
> If our Opinions, or our Deeds are worst?[33]

The poem focused on the ability of Satan to infiltrate and corrupt the susceptible minds of man. The broadside did not detail the specific murder itself, but rather the sinfulness of the Scottish community, for whom "A thousand Devils in the Conscience dwell."[34] This was, as we have seen, congruent with the message of contemporary sermons and theological writings, in which Satan preyed upon the hearts and minds of men and women to cause the downfall of a whole nation. In these discussions of Satan in murder

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[32] Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 152.
[33] *Elegy* (Edinburgh, 1723).
[34] Ibid.

cases, the devil served to create a sense of community by lending the Scottish people both a common enemy and a shared sense of responsibility in the face of demonic temptation.

Satan and the End of Life

The devil dominated broadsides detailing the last words of those executed for crimes—usually murder— and appeared occasionally in dying accounts of notable Scottish men and women. In early modern Scotland, dying often occurred publicly. Executions usually took place in public spaces, such as the Grassmarket in Edinburgh, drawing large crowds who came to watch the morally fallen pay for their crimes. These executions, doled out for the heinous crimes of murder and infanticide, often produced broadsides that recounted the last words of the criminals facing death. The speeches, probably drafted by anonymous scribes, were often formulaic. The amount of actual input from the subjects themselves is difficult to pinpoint, as specific biographical and case details coalesced with prescribed expressions of repentance. In the face of death, the men and women likely expressed some of the sentiments found in such speeches, but their words were also often interpreted by an experienced author attuned to public tastes. Thus these last words and dying speeches represent a complex mix of personal belief and community expectations.

Like cases of murder, dying accounts and last words of criminals focused on the themes of sin and its consequences, with the devil looming large as the instigator of wrong-doings. The criminal act and the execution itself usually took a backseat to moralizing about the nature of sin and the human heart. The case of Janet Hutchie, who was convicted in 1721 of infanticide and executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh,

exemplifies the prevalence of these themes. After lamenting her sad spiritual state for the bulk of her final speech, Hutchie expressed hope that despite her wrong-doing, she might still be granted salvation:

> Oh that now I may be made a singular Monument of the unsearchable Riches and Free Mercy, and Grace of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST his only Son my LORD; not having my own Righteousness, which is nothing, but that of his imputed to me, which yet can make me clean before that great Tribunal, for as black as the Devil, Hell and my own Corruptions have made me.[35]

In her last words, Hutchie articulated both an acknowledgement of her internal corruptions and a desire for mercy from the only available source—God's grace. The language of "the Devil, Hell and my own corruptions" appeared in many printed final speeches, mirroring the references to the dual threat of "the devil and an evil heart" so often found in the spiritual diaries and sermons discussed above.[36]

Another broadside published in 1723 detailed "the Last speech and dying words of John Treplecock," a man executed for murder but apparently guilty of numerous other crimes. In his last words, Treplecock blamed Satan and his own weak heart as the source of his many transgressions: "Sins graudually introduced themselves, one after another, and the wicked Heart of mine soon betray'd me into by the cuning Insinuations of the Devil."[37] As Alexander Henderson explained in a 1638 sermon, men and women were to blame for not guarding their hearts against Satan: "be that we had a right heart, then

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[35] *The Last Speech and Dying Words of Janet Hutchie*. (Edinburgh, 1721).

[36] See, for example, NLS Adv. MS. 34.6.22: Veitch, Marion. "an account of the Lord's gracious dealing with me and of his remarkable hearing and answering my supplications," f.20; James Nimmo, *The Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo: Written for his own Satisfaction to Keep in some rememberance the lords way dealing and kindness towards him, 1654-1709,* ed. W.G Scott Moncrieff (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1889), 9.

[37] *The Last speech and dying words of John Treplecock* (Edinburgh, 1723).

Satan nor his temptations would not prevail over us. But it is a pitiful thing that he has darts, and shoots them at poor souls, and we are ready to receive them."[38] Clearly the theological relationship between Satan and the spiritually feeble human heart had permeated various levels of the Scottish psyche; it appeared not only in sermons and self-writings, but also in the popular murder and dying accounts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The appearance of this theme in broadsides reflected not only popular reception of the complex relationship of Satan to the individual heart, but a desire on the part of the consumer to have that relationship confirmed in print.

Dying accounts often concluded with advice to the reader about the threat of Satan and the means of resisting him. One prime example comes from the last words of John Webster, who in the early eighteenth century murdered a fourteen-year old girl for whom he had demonically induced "unclean thoughts."[39] After recounting his troubled childhood, Webster began moralizing about the terrible error of his ways: "O! the Evil of Sin? What can be expected; when all Fear of GOD is cast of, his Worship Forsaken, and the Service of the Devil engaged into; as alas! I have done."[40] The murder of the young girl, he claimed, stemmed from his initial abandonment of the godly path, which led to his submission to Satan. In his final words, Webster told his reader to "be humble and beg of GOD that ye be not given up to the Temptations of the Devil and these powerful Corruptions that dwell in the Heart of the Children of the Son of Men by Nature."[41]

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[38] Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, prayers and pulpit addresses of Alexander Henderson*, ed. Martin R. Thomson (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1867), 215.
[39] *The last Speech And Dying Words of John Webster Gardiner at Greenhill* (Edinburgh, 1722).
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

A similar warning comes from 1724, when Margaret Dickson was convicted of infanticide and sentenced to hang in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. Before her death, she dictated "a warning to wicked," a poem directed at sinners in the Scottish public. Drawing on the standard Protestant theme of Satan as a tempter, her ultimate downfall emerged from an ignorance of God and a heart open to demonic assaults: "This Ignorance, the Source of all our Evil/ Made her a faithful Factor to the Devil/ For when the Heart's not bolted against Sin/ It let's the Devil and Damnation in."[42] As we have seen, the language of such broadsides echoed the messages of sermons throughout the seventeenth century that warned parishioners that "the Devil is busie to get your hearts."[43] In Dickson's final admonition to her readers, she reminded them that "Seeds of all Sins are in our Nature sown/ And conquer'd by the Grace of God alone/ On him depend, walk in holy Ways/ And then a pleasant Death will end your Days."[44] Of course, as many of these last words accounts were recorded by anonymous scribes, it is hard to discern the origins of these foundational Protestant ideas. Regardless, in order for such broadsides to sell, the moralizing that dominated the last word genre of broadsides must have found a receptive audience in early eighteenth century Scotland.

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[42] *A Warning to the Wicked, or, Margaret Dickson's Welcome to the Gibbet* (Edinburgh, 1724). Margaret's story has a rather fascinating ending that has found its place in Scottish folklore. According to legend, en route to Musselburgh for burial, Margaret started banging on the inside of the coffin and emerged revived. Officials decided the sentence of hanging had already been carried out, so she could not be legally executed again. She supposedly lived a long and happy life bearing other children. For more on the story of Margaret Dickson, see an English broadside was published in 1813, *Particulars of the Life, Trial, Character, and Behaviour of Margaret Dickson* (Derby, 1813).

[43] Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669).

[44] Ibid.

Letters sent by loved ones to men and women awaiting execution occasionally made their way into printed broadsides. Unlike last speeches and dying accounts, these letters did not go through the filter of anonymous scribes. They, therefore, present a more straightforward example of demonic belief, though it is sometimes uncertain whether or not the authors of such letters initially knew that their words would find a public audience. In 1720 Lady Boghall composed one such letter and sent it to her son Nichol Mushet, who was imprisoned in the tollbooth of Edinburgh for the murder of his wife.[45] After thoroughly admonishing her son for his act of "Unparalled Barbarity," Boghall told her son that he deserved "the Holy and Righteous GOD to Wrath against thy poor Soul" for having shown "that thy only Pleasure and Delight was in Doing the Works of the Devil and Reproaching thy Maker, by Sinning presumptuously against him."[46] She then proclaimed that she would pray that her son "might be a Wonder of the Riches of Free Grace and Mercy in being plucked as a Brand out of the Fire, and as a poor loft Sheep plucked by the Shepherd out of the Jaws of that Devouring Lyon the Devil."[47] Here her letter expressed the familiar inability of man to escape Satan's grasp on his own, as the evil of the devil and the evil of man tended to cooperate as two sides of a sinful coin.

Beyond detailing the final regrets of those condemned to die for their sins, accounts of last words laid bare the eternal and unavoidable consequences of a sinful, unregenerate life. The first murder story published in early modern Scotland appeared in

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[45] The murder of Margaret Hall by Nicol Mushet was recounted in a broadside a year later. See *Elegy: On the deplorable Death of Margaret Hall* (Edinburgh, 1721). In this broadside, Satan was cited as the chief orchestrator of the violent murder, as it was "he [Mushet] and Satan who had form'd the Plot."

[46] *A true Copy of a Letter Tent by the Lady Boghall to her Son Nicol Mushet, Prisoner within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the Murder of his own Wife* (Edinburgh, 1720)

[47] Ibid.

the form of a poem written by poet and Protestant controversialist Robert Sempill on the occasion of the murder of James Stewart, 1st Earl of Moray in 1570.[48] The poem began with biblical references to Cain and Abel, from whom "this haill warld did discend."[49] In describing the man who murdered Moray, Sempill lamented that "come neuer ane gude byrde of the Deuillis eg," insinuating that the assassin was a reprobate in league with Satan. As always, the murderer would get what was coming to him in the afterlife, as "The tyme sall cum, that he sall weip and murne/ Quhen hiddeous hell with greuous gloward gleims/ Baith body and saule for euer mair sall burne."[50] Such sermonic admonitions about hell found compelling expression in the stories of the most heinous earthly actions and terrible ends of the reprobate.

The belief that the end of one's life would be marked by a painful awareness of past sins continued well beyond the early modern period. An 1819 account of the death of James Mossat, a notorious thief, detailed how the "retrospective part of his life furnished such a view of consummate villainy and wickedness, that, in his last moments, he exhibited such a picture of agony, that it appeared as if the terrors of another world had seized upon him before he had actually quitted this."[51] The "terrors of another world"

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[48] Robert Sempill, *Deploration of the cruell murther of James Earle of Moray* (Edinburgh, 1570).

[49] The story of Cain and Abel, along with that of Ishmael and Isaac and Esau and Jacob, often used as an exemplar of the two-fold state of man's salvation. As William Perkins wrote in *A Golden Chaine or Description of Theologie* (Edinburgh, 1592), "The decree of Reprobation is that part of predestination whereby God, according to the most free and just purpose of his will, hath determined to reject certain men unto eternal destruction and misery…In the scriptures Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, are propounded unto us as types of mankind partly elected and partly rejected."

[50] Sempill, *Deploration of the cruell murther.*

[51] *Life and Memoirs of James Mossat* (Edinburgh, 1819).

referred here to Hell, and in his last moments, Mossat felt profound horror in contemplating a future in Satan's final kingdom:

> When the mind reverted on past enormities, he became afraid of himself and felt pain not to be uttered; particularly during the night season he used to, fight with his arms, and to shake his limbs; under those paroxysms he swore and exclaimed bitterly, frequently crying out, 'Depart from me ye Devils, ye monsters and companions of my guilt'…as he lived, so he appeared to die without God and without hope.[52]

The purpose of such descriptions of both anticipating and realizing hell was, of course, to discourage the audience from a life of sin by demonstrating the consequences of a heart open to demonic temptation.

On occasion a piece of "last advice" was composed from the viewpoint of a fictional criminal, usually written by a clergyman and published with the intent of providing specific moral and spiritual warnings. One such example was the 1720 broadside entitled *Robert Johnston's Ghost OR, His last ADVICE to the Gipsies, and other Gangs of Robbers and Murderers in Scotland*, presented in the form of a poem. Written from the perspective of a recently deceased criminal suffering eternal punishment, the poem advised deviants in Scotland to repent while they still could. Satan appeared in this advice as the model for the evil behavior of the criminals. As Johnston's ghost put it, "You act the Devil in a human Shape, And propagate Hell's Works of Lust and Hate." The overarching theme of this poem, however, was the wrath of a mighty God:

> O ! did you know the Terrors of his Face,
> How would you prize the Offers of his Grace ?
> If your blind Eyes could him behold on high,

[52] Ibid.

Clothed with Power and awful Majesty,
Judge of the Quick and Dead, great King of Heav'n,
Whose awful Frown to Hell hath Sinners driv'n,
You'd soon recal your Time so vainly spent,
And all your Sins with heavy Tears repent.[53]

It was not the devil that the ghost told his audience to fear, but rather the revenge of a just God who would not tolerate deviant behavior. While earthly justice was doled out by the courts, for the truly sinful, a much harsher divine justice awaited.

Two things about the advice of the fictional Robert Johnston are worth further noting. First, here belief in predestination carried less weight than the idea of repentance while on earth. Though the broadside did not explicitly mention good works, the author explicitly lent some agency to the intended audience in controlling their fate. This seems to be consistent with other broadsides of the early eighteenth century, in which the Reformed Protestant themes of sin and Satan stood front and center while the concept of predestination, so prevalent in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was at times noticeably absent. Second, in this poem Satan was not portrayed as an aggressive tempter as he was in many other contemporary broadsides. Rather, this last advice insinuated that man actively chose to live in the path of Satan and "propagate Hell's Works of Lust and Hate." The involvement of Satan in crime literature thus existed on a spectrum. On one end stood the devil as maestro of the crime, and on the other was the pull of man's innately evil tendencies. As in sermons, spiritual diaries, and cases of witchcraft, Satan and human depravity always worked in tandem.

[53] *Robert Johnston's Ghost OR, His last ADVICE to the Gipsies, and other Gangs of Robbers and Murderers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1720).

For those who died of natural causes, death could also be a public affair. Ministers visited their death beds, surrounded by the friends and family of the individual who lay dying, and accounts of natural deaths circulated in early modern Scotland, in both printed and manuscript form, sharing the words uttered by final breaths in final moments. Such accounts, most often recorded by a minister and occasionally by an educated family member, displayed the piety of the recently deceased and the comfort delivered by God. Throughout, Satan appeared to tempt the dying with doubts about salvation. In the 1640 account of the death of Mary Rutherford, the minister Archibald Porteous described how the lady's mind was assaulted by Satan in her final hours. He observed that "it is a hard and difficult Work to cure a troubled Soul, Satan opposing it with all his Might (for he would always have you looking to Sense, or else he would make you believe there is no Mercy for you) and feeling Satan's Policy is so great that none can rebuke these Storms and Waves."[54] Prayer, he wrote, provided the only answer to Lady Rutherford's struggles. In accordance with the necessity of dependence on God, he told her to say the following short prayer when troubled: "Lord, hold Satan off me, and give me not leave to the doubt of thy Love, or to believe any Thing that comes out of Satan's mouth."[55] In the end, with this prayer as armor against the evil one, Mary Rutherford died a peaceful death.

In his *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, John Row recorded the story of the death of Martha Barron, the pious first wife of the minister Patrick Simpson. According to

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[54] Archibald Porteus, *The Spiritual Exercise of Soul and Blessed Departure of Dame Mary Rutherford Lady Hundaly, and Mary M'Konnel, cousin to the said lady; which fell out in the year 1640; both died in London*. (Edinburgh, 1745), 8.
[55] Ibid.

Row's account, in the weeks before her death, Martha was "visited with sicknes." She told her husband that "the divill had often suggested to her, and cast in her teeth that he should be about with hir, and that she should be given over in his hand."[56] Her husband assured her that she had an abundance of the marks of grace, which would "certainlie be objects of Satan's malice and hatred; but the gates of hell cannot prevail against the Kirk, or so neither agains any member thereof."[57] Soon after, on a Sabbath day in August, Martha began to speak irreverently to her husband and to God. Interpreting this strange behavior as a product of Satan's assaults, calling it a "distraction" (notably, not a possession) Simpson prayed for his wife and claimed to all those in the house that "for all the devill's malice and crueltie agains this infirme person, he shall get a shamefull foyle."[58] Simpson went to pray alone and secretly in a garden, where he saw a vision of angels that "revealled the Lord's mind to him concerning the condition of his wife."[59] He returned to his wife's bedside, and delivered a prayer on Genesis 32, when Jacob wrestled with an angel and was renamed Israel. Upon hearing of Jacob's wrestling, his wife sat up in her bed with renewed life, and told her husband that she had been delivered from Satan: "And thou art Jacob today, who hast wrestled and prevailed….for I am now pulled out of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no more power or dominion over me."[60] Martha then remained at peace until she died, a week later. The narrative of this dying account followed the same pattern of the wrestlings with Satan in spiritual diaries,

[56] John Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 433.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 434.
[59] Ibid., 435.
[60] Ibid.

only here Simpson served as an intermediary and even a conduit for God to bring Martha relief from the devil.

Like tales of murder and executions, these dying accounts provided the opportunity to contrast the sinfulness of man and the evil of Satan with the goodness of God. In the 1679 dying testimony of John King, a field preacher, he lamented the evil of his being: "I have no righteousness of my owne, all is vyle and lyke filthie rags. But blessed be god, that ther is a savior and advocate Jesus Chryst the righteous and I doe believe that Jesus Chryst is come into the world to save sinners off who I am cheife."[61] He closed his testimony with the assertion that through his faith in Christ, he hoped for "a happie victorie over sin, Satan, hell, and death."[62] Echoing the language of sermons and spiritual diaries, King emphasized man's total dependence on God for deliverance from Satan.

Satan on the streets in early modern Britain

Though most of the works addressed here date from the early eighteenth century and comprise a smaller pool of sources than those available to historians of England, comparison between the role of Satan in English and Scottish street literature is nonetheless a fruitful way to better understand demonic belief in Scotland.[63] In early

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[61] Wod. Qu. XCIX Dying Testimony of John King, field preacher, chaplain to Lord Cardross. Aug 12 1679. f. 216v. Part of this testimony was published as a pamphlet the following year: *The last speeches of the two ministers Mr. John King, and Mr. John Kid* (Edinburgh, 1680).

[62] Ibid.

[63] Historians of early modern England as well as Europe have looked to print culture to interrogate the relationship between new Protestant ideas and the persistence of traditional culture. See Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism*, and Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000). On the relationship between print culture and religious belief, the best are Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1540-1650* and Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

modern English murder ballads in particular, the devil held a central role. Peter Lake points out that nearly every one of the English murder stories he consulted from 1580 to 1640 contained such phrases as "by the fury and assistance of the devil."[64] In such works, some written by members of the clergy and others by educated laymen, authors referenced Satan with the didactic purpose of instilling in readers the perception of an external, "all pervasive malice" that preyed upon man's innate weakness.[65] Lake has also argued that English pamphlets did not consistently or overtly condemn such crimes, though they certainly did not condone them either. The main purpose of salacious, detailed murder stories was "not merely to edify but also to shock, titillate and engender that *frisson* of horror laced with disapproval which allows both pleasure and excitement at the enormities described to be combined with a reconfirmed sense of the reader's own moral superiority."[66] Even in heavily moralized accounts in which Satan featured prominently, the relationship of these pamphlets to their subject matter was more exploitative than didactic.

Due to their shared Protestant origins, as well as circulation in both countries, street literature in England and Scotland share many similarities in purpose and presentation. There are, however, some important differences in how the devil featured in such works. One obvious contrast is that while English broadsides often contained woodcut images of Satan, those in Scotland almost never did.[67] The lack of any visual

[64] Lake, "Deeds against Nature," 268.
[65] Ibid., 268-9.
[66] Ibid.
[67] For a discussion of images of Satan in English pamphlet literature, see Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 145-7.

depiction of Satan is consistent with the overall dearth of images produced in early modern Scotland, and with the Protestant de-emphasis of the physicality of the devil in Scottish sermons and spiritual diaries. Scottish crime literature not only lacks the images but also the *imagery* found in English cheap print. Many English murder pamphlets contained extensive descriptions of the "bizarre, bloody, and grotesque killings" that occurred across a wide range of social levels.[68] Scottish murder pamphlets, however, often glazed over the gory details in order to devote more space to discussions of the sinfulness of the criminal and, in the case of last words, to the anguished repentance of individuals facing death. In Scottish pamphlets, unlike those in England, the judgment of the criminal was also obvert and straightforward. This was particularly true of last words, which seem to have been more popular in Scotland than the murder cases themselves.

Scottish and English crime literature reflects the influence of Protestantism in the early modern British world, though to differing degrees. Pamphlets in both countries depicted a world polarized between the forces of divine goodness and demonic evil. On one side of this battle, at once earthly and cosmic, stood the potent combination of Satan and human sin. On the other were the forces of divine providence, grace, and ultimate justice, which would ultimately and always prevail.[69] Within this divided structure, there was little room left for positive human agency. As such, English murder pamphlets and the providential view of the world they presented "lent themselves to a Protestant reading and thus offered Protestant authors an opening or series of openings which they could use

[68] Lake, "Deeds against Nature," 259.
[69] Ibid., 277.

to bring the Protestant message to a wider audience."[70] This was not an exclusively or even explicitly Calvinist agenda, as Lake points out, but could be readily coopted by authors of the Puritan persuasion who desired to advance their ideals within a wider audience.

The extent to which Protestant ideas as reprobation affected the average English reader is another issue. As Lake puts it, "it was, in short, one thing to believe that somewhere there were desperate sinners so evil as to have been abandoned even by God himself; it was quite another to wake up at night wondering whether you were such a sinner."[71] Lake has argued that the extremity of the events in these pamphlets allayed the possibility of personal internalization of Protestant messages.[72] That is, because the depicted events were so gruesome and dramatic, this prevented most people from seeing any of themselves in the murder stories. Yet despite the extra-ordinariness of the actual crimes committed, the offenses that led up to the murder were completely commonplace. These popular sins included fornication, lust, drunkenness, and Sabbath-breaking. The ordinariness of the deeds of the criminals—up until their ultimate and worst act—made these murder stories and their exhortations applicable to virtually everyone. As both Lake and Johnstone have pointed out, every man and woman was a sinner and susceptible to the demonically-induced temptations that might ultimately lead to murderous acts. By

[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 283.
[72] Ibid.

discussing the most extreme consequences of a near universal experience, "the pulp press gave far wider transmission to the dominance of internal temptation in demonism."[73]

The influence of Scottish print culture on the reception of Reformed Protestant ideas, with regard to the devil or otherwise, has yet to be fully interrogated. This is largely due to the fact that historians of the Scottish Reformation do not have a comparable body of "cheap print" to draw these conclusions from. The actions of the local kirk sessions, along with the proliferation of oral, manuscript, and printed sermons, were the most important mechanisms for reform in Scotland. Moreover, the Scottish Reformation occurred over forty years after Luther and nearly thirty after the English crown officially severed ties with Rome. This late date means that Reformed Protestant ideas had been circulating in Scotland for a generation before the Reformation actually occurred. This lent new theological ideas, including those about Satan, a long gestation period. This, in conjunction with the localized actions of the kirk sessions, explains the relative success and nonviolence of the Scottish Reformation, and suggests why there was not an immediate flood of broadsides attempting to convey the messages of Protestantism.

Despite the late date of the broadsides discussed in this chapter, they still have much to say about the Scottish public's reception of Protestant ideas about Satan—in particular, the persistence of Reformed demonic belief and the relationship of this belief to Scottish culture and identity. In Scotland, the Reformed Protestant agenda seems to have been promoted more forcefully by broadsides than in England, which is

[73] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*,143.

unsurprising given the Calvinist majority of the Scottish kirk and the community at large. Murder stories, last words, and dying accounts collectively demonstrate the continued ways in which the Protestant concepts of temptation, sin, and human frailty comingled with belief in the devil. Noticeably absent in early-eighteenth century broadsides, however, were discussions of the relationship of Satan to the issue of predestination, which had been a key theme of seventeenth century sermons and spiritual diaries. This move away from the Orthodox Calvinist preoccupation with double predestination coincided with the larger shifts in the Scottish kirk that had occurred during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[74] Still, broadsides detailing murders and deaths display the remarkable continuity of formative elements of Reformed Protestantism in shaping demonic belief.

As in England, the ubiquity of temptation and sin allowed the ordinary Scottish reader to relate to the criminal while also being appalled by his or her actions. Johnstone has argued that because of this ordinariness of sins discussed in English murder stories, there was no concerted attempt to "other" the murderers, who generally retained their humanity. To the extent that they were demonized, it was through the process of temptation, which according to Johnstone "affected to bring ordinary people closer to the

[74] There are many works that deal with religious controversy in late seventeenth-century Scotland. To name a few: Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion, and Ideas* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003); David Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland and Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Morrill, ed. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); David Stevenson, *The Covenanters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Penguin, 2005; *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* eds. Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006).

Devil."[75] As a result, he contends, "demonisation actually discouraged the belief that intimate demonic experience was an aberration which clearly identified society's marginalized enemies. Every man and woman had experienced the same temptations that led some to murder and witchcraft; thus the gap that separated them from these 'incarnate devils' was very small."[76] This process of highlighting the common sinfulness of all, from the occasional drunk to a violent murderer, also occurred in Scottish broadsides, exemplifying key ideas already promoted from the pulpit.

Johnstone also claims that murder narratives "highlighted the unseen demonic hold over the will" and presented English criminals as "merely mediating the devil's agency." [77] Scottish murder narratives, however, presented deviants who, though moved to act by demonic temptation, were responsible for allowing their own evil hearts to go unchecked.[78] Though these Scots could never totally repress their baser ways, they did have some agency in allowing Satan to move them to sin. This difference between the involvement of the devil in English and Scottish crime literature, though subtle, indicates the greater emphasis in Scotland on the innate depravity of all people and the role of the devil as a master manipulator of human nature.

Though we cannot know for certain how Scots of all sorts interpreted the role of the devil found in these broadsides, there was clearly a profitable market for the moralizing murder and dying accounts discussed in this chapter. The Scots who

[75] Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism*, 174
[76] Ibid., 143.
[77] Ibid., 149-150.
[78] Ibid., 150.

purchased such broadsides were probably more interested in the sensational tales of crime and punishment than in the sermonic musings about sin and Satan. Yet the fact that such ideas about the devil found a place in these broadsides— the very ones refined by theological writings, communicated by sermons, and articulated in self-writings— indicates the Reformed devil had indeed become an assumed presence in the Scottish worldview. Furthermore, descriptions of the actual crimes or executions often took a backseat to discussions of the dangerous cooperation between Satan and human sin. Using the language of community and collective responsibility, many of these broadsides depicted the murderers, slaves to Satan, as the worst of Scottish society. Ordinary folks who bought, read, or heard such accounts could point to the poor souls, learn from them, and assert their own identity as good and godly members of the Scottish community.

Scots of all sorts clearly believed they were living with the enemy. Far from being an external, foreign other, the devil shared more than spiritual and physical space with the Scottish people. He infiltrated their minds, tempted their hearts, and helped to shape their identities by pointing out who they were not while simultaneously warning them about the darker parts of who they were. The Satan who appeared in Scottish broadsides thus affirmed preexisting Protestant conceptions of sin and human frailty. Stories of murder, executions, and natural deaths also provided the Scottish public with something that theological works and sermons could not: concrete and immediate examples of the consequences of allowing Satan to run amok amongst the weak hearts of men and women.

Chapter Six: The Devil as Master

Between 1661 and 1662, nearly 700 men and women were accused of witchcraft during one of the largest and most intense witch-hunts in Scottish history.[1] At the time, witchcraft was not only a criminal offense punishable by death, but also an egregious sin in the eyes of both God and the community. One of the witches accused during the summer of 1661 was Bessie Wilson, a woman from a town just outside of Edinburgh. In her confession before the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, she reported that "the devil appeared to her clothed in black lyk a gentleman cuming from Mortoun [an area Southeast of Edinburgh] homeward….and asked quhar she was going."[2] Wilson told him that "she was going home", to which the devil replied, "thee art a poor pudled [confused, bewildered] body, will thee be my servant, and I will give the abundance, and thee sall never want." Wilson acquiesced, and six weeks later, Satan came to her at night when she was sleeping. The devil "lay with her and he bad her put one hand to her head, another to the foot, and give him all betwix with the renouncing of her baptisme, which she did." At the end of her confession, she named two other women she had seen at a hillside meeting with Satan.

The case of Bessie Wilson exemplifies some of the demonic ideas characteristic of many Scottish witch-trials: the devil's appearance as a man, at night; the promise of

[1] For an analysis of the witch-hunts of 1661-1662, see Brian Levack, "The Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-1662," *Journal of British Studies* 20 (1980): 90-108.

[2] JC 26/27/5 and JC 2/10, fos. 18v-20r. The Court of Justiciary was the highest criminal court in Scotland, usually held in Edinburgh. The Court of Justiciary could dole out punishments, such as sentences of death, that were beyond the jurisdiction of more local courts like the kirk session. Unless otherwise noted, all archival records listed in this chapter that begin in JC or CH are from the National Archives of Scotland. Those beginning in MS or Wod. Are from the National Library of Scotland.

wealth and well-being; copulation with the devil; the renunciation of one's baptism and entrance into demonic servitude; and the identification of fellow witches. How did Satan become so intrinsic to Scottish witch-belief? What does the role of the devil in Scottish witchcraft cases, and later cases of demonic possession, reveal about demonic belief more generally? Does the Satan of the witch-trials represent a unique type or role of demonic belief in early modern Scotland? In answering these three interrelated questions, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which traditional and Reformed demonic beliefs coexisted in Scottish witch-trials. The result was a concept of Satan that reveals the fluidity and ubiquity of demonic belief in early modern Scotland.

None of the various ways in which the devil pervaded early modern Scottish culture has received more scholarly consideration than in the accusation and persecution of witches. Between the mid-sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, nearly 4,000 individuals in Scotland were accused of witchcraft. Of these, eighty-four percent were women.[3] The witch-hunts in Scotland have attracted a considerable amount of historical attention in the last few decades, as part of a larger investigation of witch-beliefs and

[3] Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman, "The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, 1563- 1763," http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/witches/.

prosecution of witches throughout the early modern world.[4] The question of how belief in the devil informed the Scottish witch-hunts has attracted considerable attention since the 1981 publication of Christina Larner's *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland*, a work that brought Scottish witch-hunting to the forefront of witchcraft historiography.[5] Since its publication, scholars in and outside of Scotland have cultivated the growing field of Scottish witchcraft studies. These studies run the gamut of witchcraft related topics, from legal processes to cases of demonic possession to literary works on witches. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important studies of Scottish witch-hunting focus on the role of demonic belief in informing and fomenting the witch-trials.[6]

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[4] For general studies of witchcraft, see Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, eds., *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (London: Harper-Collins, 1996); Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Joseph Klaits, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1985); Brian P. Levack *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* 3rd edn (London: Longman, 2006); Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers. Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Robert W. Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, Mother Goose: The Rise and Fall of the Witch Hunts in Europe and North America* (London: Longman, 2001). These are just a few of the general studies of witchcraft, and there are many superb regional studies of witchcraft in continental Europe, Britain, and New England. For a discussion of recent trends in witchcraft historiography, see Malcolm Gaskill, "The Pursuit of Reality: Recent Research into the History of Witchcraft," *Historical Journal* 51 (2008): 1069-1088.

[5] In Scotland, most of the cases of witchcraft were tried at a local level and the verdicts, normally guilty, were motivated by local fears and interests. In this localized judicial system, there was no grand jury to curtail witch panics. Furthermore, torture and other forms of judicial coercion were often employed in Scottish witch-trials.

[6] On the role of the devil in Scottish witch-trials, see in particular Joyce Millar, "Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early Modern Scottish Witchcraft Discourse," and Edward Cowen, "Witch Persecution and Popular Belief in Lowland Scotland: the Devil's Decade," in Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller, eds. *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Laura Martin, "The Devil and the Domestic: Witchcraft, Quarrels and Women's Work in Scotland," and Stuart MacDonald, "In Search of the Devil in Fife" in Julian Goodare, *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Historians of witchcraft in Scotland have offered a wide variety of approaches to and explanations for this complex and tragic event.[7] Of course, witch-hunting throughout time and space cannot be explained by a single cause. In Scotland, the period of the witch-hunts was the product of a specific and conducive political, social, legal, and religious environment.[8] While the localized judicial system and the use of torture in Scotland certainly facilitated the large scale witch-hunts, religious belief shaped how witchcraft was viewed by authorities as well as the lay populace, laying the ideological foundations for witch-hunting. Most importantly, witchcraft in Scotland was considered to be a sin as well as a crime. The devil stood center stage as the instigator of such a monumental sin. In Scotland, the desire for a godly society— a product of the pervasive influence of Reformed Protestant theology— led to a general intolerance for deviation from orthodoxy. This reforming zeal, combined with the constant fear of the devil's

[7] For general studies of witchcraft and witch-hunting in Scotland, see Brian P. Levack, "The Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-1662,"*Journal of British Studies* 20 (1980): 90-108; Levack, "Judicial Torture in Scotland during the Age of Mackenzie," in Miscellany IV (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 2002): 185-98; Levack, *Witch-Hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Juilan Goodare, "The Aberdeenshire witchcraft panic of 1597," *Northern Scotland* 21 (2001): 1-21; Goodare, ed., The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context (Manchester, 2002); Goodare, "The Scottish Witchcraft Act," *Church History* 74 (2005): 39-67; Goodare, "John Knox on demonology and witchcraft," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 96 (2005): 221-45; Goodare, Lauren Martin and Joyce Miller, eds., *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke, 2008); Stuart MacDonald, *The Witches of Fife: Witch-Hunting in a Scottish Shire, 1560-1710* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002); Lizanne Henderson, ed., *Fantastical Imaginations: the Supernatural in Scottish History and Culture* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2009); Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: the Witch-Hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore, MD.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Larner, *Witchcraft and Religion: the Politics of Popular Belief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).

[8] Witch-hunting in Scotland was, simultaneously, a British and European phenomenon. The political turmoil of early modern Scotland and, at times, England, provided the backdrop for the most extreme periods of witch persecution. This was particularly true in revolutionary Britain, the only time when the patterns of witch-hunting in England and Scotland converged. For a comprehensive breakdown of the legal, political and religious causes for the Scottish witch-trials, especially as they compare to those in England, see Levack, *Witch-Hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion*, 55-80.

involvement in earthly affairs and the prevalence of apocalyptic thought, produced a religious culture ripe for witch-hunting.

Scottish Witchcraft and the Demonic Pact

As the great orchestrator of human sin, Satan invariably played a leading role in Scottish definitions and persecutions of witchcraft. Demonological ideas that originated on the continent profoundly influenced the nature and intensity of Scottish witch-hunting. In particular, the concept of the demonic pact was central to the accusation and conviction of Scottish witches. The demonic pact revolved around the witch's renunciation of Christian baptism and entrance into a contract with Satan. Other aspects of the pact included the devil's mark, the witches' sabbath, and copulation with Satan. The 1661 cases of the witches of Libberton provide descriptions of the demonic pact typical of Scottish witchcraft cases. As Janet Gibson confessed

> the divel did appear to her as she was going to the Carthall about the twilight in the evening and asked what she did want and bad her renounce her savior, and one night she confessed the divell did ly with her in her bed. She thought his nature was cold and that he had carnall dealling with her and caused her renounce her baptisme by laying her own hand on her head; and the other hand on the sole of her foot. [9]

Another witch claimed that the devil told her "he should tak her away soul and body," after which she renounced her baptism in the same fashion as Gibson and received the devil's mark in the form of a nip on her shoulder.[10] The entrance into a pact with Satan was often preceded by promises of material wealth and personal satisfaction. These promises were described in a wide variety of ways, ranging from clothing and money to a

[9] JC 26/27/5and JC2/10 fos. 18v-20r
[10] Ibid.

vague "all the pleasure of the earth."[11] During or after the pact, the devil often entered into some sort of sexual activity, usually intercourse, with his newly minted (and marked) servant.

This pact with Satan represented a demonic version of two related and common practices in early modern Scotland: banding and covenanting. Bands, usually made by men as oaths of fidelity or friendships, had a long history in Scotland.[12] Covenants, to simplify a complex legal and theological term, were religious, and often political, manifestations of this process of banding. As defined in Chapter Four, a religious covenant was a contractual agreement made voluntarily between an individual and God. According to the tenets of Reformed Protestantism, entering into such a personal covenant could be viewed as evidence of predetermined salvation.[13] In Scotland, covenants were also documents by which individuals committed themselves to maintaining the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, as exemplified by the National Covenant of 1638. Sometimes authorities described the pact with the devil as a covenant, as in the 1650 case of Archibald Watt, who was accused of "making covenant with the devil' and having attended "many meetings since his covenant keeped with the devil."[14] Thus the pact with Satan that lay at the heart of Scottish witchcraft belief was a familiar practice in early modern Scotland. In a religious environment that was gravely

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[11] Ibid.

[12] On banding, see Ian Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (London: Weidenfiled and Nicolson, 1982); Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985).

[13] It is important to note, however, that a personal covenant was not a contract that bound God to any obligation; this would have been a constraint placed upon the absolute sovereignty of God.

[14] *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark, 1623- 1719*, ed., John Robertson (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1839), 80.

concerned with the devil and his actions during what seemed to be the Last Days, the pact with Satan was a dangerous charge indeed. Here the local Reformed Protestant clergy became the instigators of the prosecutions, as they sought to establish a godly kingdom and weed out any members of the community who might have entered into demonic servitude.[15]

How did the pact with Satan become a basis for Scottish witchcraft? Elites in Scotland had believed in the threat and reality of the demonic pact since the scholastic condemnation of ritual magic during the fourteenth century.[16] The Scottish witchcraft act of 1563 did not contain an explicit mention of the demonic pact, but a deal with the devil was implicit in the act's denunciation of necromancy.[17] The North Berwick witch-hunts of 1590-1, and their influence on Scottish society as a result of the publication of *Newes From Scotland* (1592) and James VI's *Daemonologie* (1597), cemented the demonic pact as a mainstay of Scottish witch-hunting. In the examination of Agnes Sampson before James, when asked how she came to serve the devil, "she confessed that after the death of her husband the devil appeared to her in the likeness of a man and commanded her to acknowledge him as her master and to renounce Christ."[18] Others convicted in North Berwick confessed to similar recognition of Satan as their master, as well as meeting with him in large numbers and performing servant rituals such as kissing the devil on his buttocks. This was a far cry from the orgies and cannibalistic infanticide that

[15] In England, however, the witch-trials generally lacked this diabolical association, and witchcraft was not strictly defined in religious terms as it was in Scotland, explaining in part the comparatively mild nature of English witch-hunting.
[16] Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 39.
[17] Julian Goodare, "The Scottish Witchcraft Act," *Church History* 74 (2005), 64.
[18] JC 26/2; reprinted in Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 145.

characterized the witches' sabbaths of continental Europe. Nonetheless, the devil was an undeniable and formative presence in these early trials of witches accused of collaborating with Satan to harm the Scottish king.

The events of 1590-1 inspired the composition of the pamphlet *Newes from Scotland* by the minister James Carmichael, one of the very few cases of Scottish witchcraft printed immediately after they had occurred. Carmichael had apparently written a history of the North Berwick cases "with their whole depositions," though this history no longer exists.[19] *Newes from Scotland* was published in London in 1592 "according to the Scottish copy" and summarized the testimonies from the North Berwick witches, which were given in the presence of James VI himself. This pamphlet articulated from the outset one of the key components of witchcraft— the demonic pact, demonstrated physically on the witch's body by the devil's mark. Carmichael described the witches who joined forces against the king as individuals "who suffering themselves to be allured and inticed by Divell whom they served, and to whome they were privatelye sworne; entered into the detestable Art of witchcraft."[20] *Newes from Scotland* also politicized the demonic pact by making the North Berwick witches, with their master the devil, the obvert enemies of James' physical and spiritual persona. Carmichael claimed that when the witches had asked Satan why "he did beare such hatred to the King," he answered that "the King is the greatest enemy he hath in the worlde." This was, of

[19] Carmichael's composition of a "history" of the 1591 cases was described in the diary of James Melville. Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill (London, 1683), 194-5.
[20] James Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland* (London, 1592)

course, a testament to James' devout status, as well as the fact that no one, least of all the king, was exempt from Satan's malice.

James's involvement in the North Berwick trials led directly to his publication of *Daemonologie* in 1597.[21] The first and only demonological treatise published by a European monarch, *Daemonologie* further politicized the crime of witchcraft and solidified the demonic aspects of witch-belief in Scotland. *Daemonologie* was first published in Edinburgh in 1597, and underwent two London editions in 1603 with later translations into Latin, French, and Dutch. This work, as Stuart Clark has pointed out, was "neither original nor profound."[22] *Daemonologie*'s broader significance lay partly in its status as the first defense of Continental witch-beliefs in the English language, directed against Johann Weyer and Reginald Scot.. In his discussion of witchcraft, James set out to prove in no uncertain terms that Satan was a very real and active presence in the world. In his words, "doubtleslie who denyeth the power of the Deuill, woulde likewise denie the Power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Devill is the verie contrarie opposite to God there can be no better way to know God, then by the contrarie."[23]

Here James was setting up a straw man of sorts, as virtually no one at the time was likely to deny the existence of the devil. Yet James VI had a great deal of personal

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[21] James VI and I, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597). Here I have used the original 1597 Edinburgh edition. The best modernized version is printed in Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 353-425.

[22] Stuart Clark, King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship," in *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, ed. Sydney Anglo (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 156.

[23] James VI and I, *Daemonolgie*, 44.

investment not only in the project of witch-hunting, but also in fashioning himself as an unflinching antagonist of Satan. By building up the threat of the devil, James also augmented his religious clout. That James VI saw demonic witchcraft as such a great personal threat was also bound up in his identity as the monarch. Just as witches and Satan were affronts to God, so they were to the King, who believed he derived his political power from divine as well as secular forces. As Daniel Fischlin points out, James' characterization of witchcraft as "high treason against God's Majesty" purposefully conflated "God" and "Majesty" to demonstrate both the source of his power and the unity of his earthly aims with those of God.[24]

This was not, however, mere political posturing in the face of an increasingly hostile kirk. James's investment in witch-hunting stemmed not simply from a fear of witches, but also from a personal engagement with the devil that grew out of his Reformed Protestant convictions and his desire to assert his status as a divine and ideal monarch.[25] As both *Newes from Scotland* and *Daemonologie* made clear, James's personal faith—and his displays of this power from the throne—caused him to be a prime target of demonic assaults. This threat of Satan was all the more frightening with the Apocalypse looming; in James's own words, "the consummation of the Worlde, and our deliverance drawing near, makes Sathan rage the more in his instruments, knowing his Kingdome to be so near an ende."[26]

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[24] Daniel Fischlin, "Counterfeiting God": James VI (I) and the Politics of Daemonologie (1597), *The Journal of Narrative Techniq*ue 26 (1996), 4.
[25] Clark, "King James's Daemonologie," 158.
[26] James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, 81

We should not credit the North Berwick trials nor the work of James VI with introducing demonic ideas such as the pact to Scottish witchcraft. As aforementioned, belief in the demonic pact was present in Scotland some 200 years prior to the North Berwick hunts. Trials that occurred before 1590—particularly the trial of Bessie Dunlop in 1576— already contained key Protestant demonological ideas. These had spread to and been adopted by educated elites, and likely by some ordinary Scots as well, thanks to active kirk sessions, frequent sermons, and news of witch-trials outside Scotland.[27] The significance of the North Berwick trials to Scottish demonic belief lay in the wide publicity they generated and the publications they informed. *Newes from Scotland* and *Daemonologie* spread to a varied audience not just the events that transpired in these early trials, but the demonic ideas such as the pact that would come to define much of Scottish witch-hunting.[28]

The centrality of the pact to Scottish witch-beliefs did not mean that all of the cases of witchcraft in Scotland directly involved demonic elements; in fact, the majority of recorded cases did not.[29] That the devil is absent from many of the records, however, should not be taken as an indication of a lack of demonic belief. It could be argued by the seventeenth century, demonic ideas were so central to the concept of witchcraft that demonic belief was implied even when Satan was not explicitly mentioned. Moreover, the extant records do not contain all of what was mentioned over the course of a witch-

[27] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 81.
[28] For a discussion of the relationship between *Newes from Scotland* and James VI's *Daemonoligie*, see Rhodes Dunlap, "King James and Some Witches: the Date and Text of the Daemonologie," *Philological Quarterly* 54 (1975): 40-6.
[29] Out of 3,827 extant cases of witchcraft, 226 different individuals referenced the devil or demonic beings a total of 392 times. As cited in Joyce Miller, "Men in Black," 145.

trial. [30] The devil also figured into a noteworthy number of Scottish witch-trials, especially when compared with England.

The importance of Satan in the witch-trials in Scotland has been challenged in particular by Stuart MacDonald in his work on the witchcraft trials in Fife. MacDonald notes that of the 420 cases of witchcraft in Fife, the devil appeared in only 83, or 20 percent of the cases.[31] When the devil was mentioned, it was often in passing, rather than any extensive discussion of the demonic pact or sabbath. Though he notes that the role of the devil may have been assumed, MacDonald interprets the absence of discussions of the devil to indicate that elite demonological ideas did not permeate Fife culture or drive the witch-trials there. Rather, elites and ordinary folks in Fife were more concerned with the ability of the witch to harm neighbors and disrupt communal harmony. The problem with MacDonald's interpretation is that he separates the witch's ability to commit harm from the demonic aspects of witchcraft. The witch acquired her magical abilities from Satan; demonic involvement was thus intrinsic to the ability of a witch to commit harm in the first place. Moreover, even though ordinary folks did often attribute misfortunes to non-demonic causes, this did not necessarily negate their understanding of the devil's involvement in the crime itself.

Appearances of Satan

A central question raised by the relationship of Satan to witchcraft is whether or not the devil that appears in witch-trial documents represents a type of demonic belief unique to cases of witchcraft. The most compelling evidence for the existence of a

[30] Ibid.
[31] MacDonald, "In search of the Devil in Fife," 36.

conception of Satan that was specific to the witch-trials is that accused witches often claimed the devil appeared as a physical being. As discussed in previous chapters, following the Reformation in Scotland, theologians and educated elites believed that the threat of Satan came almost exclusively from his psychological prowess. Only rarely did the devil manifest physically in Scottish sermons and spiritual diaries.[32] In their sermons, ministers sometimes described the devil as a beast, usually citing passages from the New Testament that depicted Satan as a lion, dragon, or serpent, but never as a human figure.[33] In their self-writings, Scots occasionally described the devil as an intangible apparition, and only infrequently as a black man or animal.[34] In the cases of flyting, cursing, and blasphemy found in the kirk session records of early modern Scotland, Scots referred to Satan as a being with physical powers and prowess, but without any detailed descriptions of his appearance.

In cases of witchcraft, however, Scots frequently described the devil in very material terms. Accused witches described the devil as appearing most often as a man and commonly as an animal. To name a few of the many variations, Satan might manifest

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[32] See Chapter Four, above.

[33] The most commonly cited passages that depicted Satan in a physical manner were I Peter, 5:8: "your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walking about, seeking whom he may devour," and Revelation, 13:1-2: "the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world."

[34] Two examples will suffice here: In her conversion narrative, Mistress Rutherford described in her diary, after her grandfather's death, she began to see apparitions of him for twenty straight days, which she believed to be "the devil in his likeness." Mistress Rutherford, "Mistress Rutherford's Conversion Narrative," in *Miscellany xiii*, ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2004), 153. In 1684, Elizabeth Blackadder wrote that when she was young, she was perpetually terrified of apparitions or spirits. She reported that once she was "lying into a room alone, and there came into the chamber a great black dog, which I was tempted to believe this was the devil." Elizabeth Blackadder, "A Short Account of the Lord's Way of Providence towards me in my Pilgrimage Journeys," in *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c. 1670-1730*, ed. David Mullan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 387.

as "ane pretty boy in grein clothes," a man in brown clothing and a black hat, or a black cat or dog.[35] Sometimes Satan appeared to an individual witch in a wide variety of guises. Agnes Sampson confessed that the devil had come to her as a dog, a deer, a haystack, and a man, all of these black in color.[36] These simple and commonplace descriptions of clothing and form—human or animal— made up the majority of demonic depictions found in witchcraft cases. On occasion, however, the records reveal a much more colorful description of Satan. In the famed North Berwick witchcraft trials, Satan was reported to have appeared in the kirk, speaking from the pulpit: "His face was terrible, his nose was like the beak of an eagle…his hands and legs were hairy, with claws upon his hands and feet like a griffin and he spoke with a rough, deep voice."[37] This is the image of Satan that informed the only early modern Scottish woodcut of the devil, found in the pamphlet *Newes from Scotland*.

The physicality of the devil in such cases was further reified by the descriptions of copulation with Satan. In the trial of Janet Barker in Edinburgh in 1643, Barker confessed to sex with the devil, whom she described as having laid "heavie abone hir lyk an ox and noucht lyk an uther man."[38] In probably the most unusual and colorful of the Scottish witch trials, in 1662 the accused witch Isobel Gowdie described Satan as a

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[35] MS 905; see also JC2/11; JC2/10 fo. 10v-17v; CH2/722/6; MS 1945. According to the Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, out of the 392 references to demonic beings found in the witchcraft trials, 276 cite human forms. Animals account for 60 of those demonic forms. For a detailed description of the size, clothing, and general appearance of the demonic beings cited in witch-trials, see Miller, "Men in Black,"149-152.

[36] JC26/2; printed as the "Examination and Confession of Agnes Sampson" in Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 141-159.

[37] As quoted in MacDonald, "In Search of the Devil in Fife," 34.

[38] JC2/8, pp. 347-349

"meikle black roch man" with a very large and cold "nature." Gowdie went so far as to aver that certain young women had "veerie great pleasure in their carnall cowpulation with him, yea much mor than with their awin husbandis."[39] This case, while unique, illustrates the notably physical and occasional sexual role of Satan in witch-trials.[40]

It is worth noting that, unlike in theological depictions of Satan and those found in demonological discourse, the devil usually appeared in witchcraft confessions as a human. Most often he appeared as a man in black, or some variation on that image.[41] In 1591 Janet Stratton depicted Satan as "standing in likeness of a black priest, with black clothes like a hair mantle"— an obvious inversion of a godly minister. [42] In 1673, Janet M'Nicoll colorfully described the devil as appearing to her "in the likenes of ane gross lepper faced man."[43] What accounts for his appearance as a human rather than a beast? In cases of witchcraft that involve the demonic pact, the devil almost always appeared as a man prior to the witches' entrance into a pact. The giving of the devil's mark through physical impression of some sort, the demand that a witch renounce his or her baptism, the receipt of a new name, the ensuing copulation with Satan— these were all acts performed by two human figures. In part, this was a reflection of the aforementioned

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[39] *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, ed. Robert Pitcairn, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, 1833), iii. 602-15

[40] For more on the case of Isobel Gowdie, see Emma Wilby, The *Visions of Isobel Gowdie*. Magic, Witchcraft and Dark Shamanism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).

[41] On appearances of Satan in cases of witchcraft, see Joyce Miller's fittingly titled "Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early Modern Witchcraft Discourse," in Julian Goodare, ed., *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland.*

[42] Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, i.246; JC/26/2.

[43] *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and The Isles 1664-1705*, ed. John Cameron (Edinburgh: Printed for the Stair Society, 1949), 20.

familiarity of Scottish society with the practice of banding, which involved a covenant among humans. Sex and conversation should occur between two people, and the devil necessarily appeared in human form to perform the acts associated with the pact.

Another possible explanation is that the physical personification of Satan reflected the affinity of man and the devil so often emphasized in post-Reformation sermons. As Samuel Rutherford claimed in 1645, "the Devil and sinful Men are both broken Men, and Out-laws of Heaven, and of one Blood…Satan findeth his own Seed in us by Nature, to wit, Concupiscence, a Stem, a Sprouting, and Child of the House of Hell….[44] Though in theory Satan was a non-human other, in pastoral discussions and experiential reality, he shared much with the spiritually frail men and women whom he constantly assaulted. The subtlety and persistent presence of Satan so often highlighted in Scottish sermons also likely influenced reports of the devil as a man, for the devil could take no form more dangerous or elusive than a human one.

Historians of the devil in early modern England have suggested that the physical descriptions of Satan found in cases of English witchcraft, and in popular culture more generally, indicate the persistence of medieval demonological ideas among the laity.[45] While belief in a physical devil certainly persisted in Scotland, it is important not to draw rigid boundaries where they did not actually exist. Medieval and post-Reformation demonology, though shaped by divergent theologies and emphases, were not incompatible. It was not only the common folk who believed that in cases of witchcraft,

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[44] Samuel, Rutherford, *The Trial and Triumph of Faith* (Edinburgh, 1645), 39.

[45] In particular, see Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000), esp. chapters 4 and 7. Again, when compared to Scotland or cases on the Continent, the devil was more often than not absent or marginal in cases of English witchcraft.

the devil was apt to appear in physical form. James VI himself specified in *Daemonologie* that "to some of the baser sorte of them he [Satan] oblishes him selfe to appeare at their calling vpon him, by such a proper name which he shewes vnto them, either in likeness of a dog, a Catte, an Ape, or such-like other beast."[46] Theologians did not have a singular, definitive depiction of Satan. Just as scripture called the devil by numerous names—Satan, Lucifer, The Prince of this World, The Wicked One— and depicted him in an array of guises—fallen angel, serpent, dragon— so too did Scots of all sorts. Neither did Scottish divines nor the elites who conducted the witch-trials attempt to influence how ordinary Scots portrayed Satan. His appearance or choice of apparel was largely irrelevant, as concern for the devil centered on how he and his servants might hinder the creation of a godly community and damage the well-being, spiritual and physical, of the community's members.

"Elite" and "Popular" Witch-belief

Understanding the role of Satan in the witchcraft trials is particularly important to teasing out differences in the demonic beliefs of Scots across the social spectrum. As the previous chapters have illustrated, an abundance of sources— theological writings, sermons, spiritual diaries, and the like— demonstrate what elite, educated Scots believed about Satan. What ordinary, less-educated Scots knew about the devil remains more elusive. The kirk session records, especially in cases of interpersonal conflict and blasphemy, provide important clues to how belief in the devil was manifested in the

[46] James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, 19.

speech of these common folk.[47] Cases of witchcraft— in particular, the testimonies of witches and witnesses— are another crucial source for understanding demonic belief of Scots of all sorts. As Christina Larner suggested in *Enemies of God*, by using the evidence from Scottish witch-trials, we know more about how ordinary folks viewed the devil than how they viewed God.[48]

As discussed, cases of witchcraft are replete with descriptions of Satan. Yet the demonic beliefs found in witchcraft cases are far from straightforward. When the courts, both ecclesiastical and civil, interrogated suspected witches about their relationship with the devil, they sometimes received elaborate descriptions of the physical appearance of Satan, the signing of the demonic pact, and even copulation with the devil. The problem, however, is that the origins of these demonic beliefs are quite hazy. Did the authorities elicit this information about the devil because it is what they were looking to find? Do the demonic motifs found in the confessions of ordinary Scots differ from those of traditional Scottish demonology? [49]

Scottish witch-trials, like those throughout early modern Europe, generally consisted of two elements: *maleficium*, meaning harmful magic, and diabolism, the assertion that witches worshipped the devil in a variety of ways. These two elements were linked by the belief that it was the devil who initially bestowed witches with magical powers. Many historians have argued that at the accusatory level, ordinary Scots concerned themselves with maleficia rather than diabolism. Though these Scots believed

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[47] See Chapter Three, above.
[48] Larner, *Enemies of God*, 134.
[49] These questions have also been explored in Joyce Miller "Men in Black."

in the devil, their primary concern was the health of themselves, families, crops, and the like, which they claimed to have been compromised by the harmful magic of witches. Some scholars have persuasively argued that the demonic aspects of witch-trials were introduced by social elites who had embraced continental demonologies.[50] Julian Goodare has contended that in both Europe and Scotland, elites had a specific understanding of witchcraft categorized as demonology, which differed from more popular conceptions of the devil.[51] Others have gone as far as to argue that the witch-hunts and their demonic elements constituted an attack on folk culture more generally.[52]

These arguments revolve around the premise that the witch-trials furthered a trend begun by the Reformation, in which the worldviews of the elites and the peasantry grew increasingly polarized. One main reason for this polarization was that for many ordinary Scots, creatures like fairies and witches could operate in the world without necessarily being servants of Satan. At the time of the Scottish Reformation, the so-called popular worldview allowed for the existence of a grey zone between good and evil, in which fairies, ghosts, and witches could be both good and bad.[53] In the closing decades of the sixteenth century and the concurrent beginning of the Scottish witch-trials, theologians insisted on relegating such creatures to either "superstition," the dominion of the devil,

[50] Stuart MacDonald, *The Witches of Fife*; Edward J. Cowan, "Witchcraft Persecution and Folk Belief."
[51] See Goodare, *Witchcraft and Belief*, 27.
[52] See Cowan, "Witch Persecution and Folk Belief."
[53] Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief: A* History (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001), 116.

and often both.[54] As Knox put it plainly, "In religioun thair is na middis: either it is the religioun of God…or els it is the religioun of the Divill."[55] At least initially, the demonization of fairies and the like occurred from the top-down during the witch-trials.

Yet a rigid distinction between demonic and fairy belief did not exist in early modern Scotland. The ways that ordinary Scots conceived of Satan were often virtually identical to their depictions of fairies and spirits. In the remarkably detailed case of Bessie Dunlop in 1572, Dunlop recounted her relationship with Reid, a spirit whom she had encountered while taking her cow out to a field. She described Reid as an elderly man with a grey beard wearing a grey coat. He wore a black bonnet on his head and carried a white wand in his hand.[56] Reid took Dunlop to meet the fairy queen and her people, whom he described to her as "the good wights that were riding in Middle Earth."[57] At no point did Dunlop explicitly equate Reid or the fairies/spirits she met with Satan, despite prodding by the interrogators. Her description of Reid as wearing a black bonnet and carrying a white wand was almost identical to the devil described in *Newes from Scotland* as appearing before John Fian, "appareled all in blacke, which a white wand in his hand."[58] The ordinary, quotidian discussions between Dunlop and Reid

[54] On the impact of the Reformation on both demonic belief and superstition, see Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*: *Superstition, Reason and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[55] John Knox, *Works*, 6 vols., ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846-64), iv.232.
[56] Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, ii.52.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Carmichael, *Newes From Scotland.*

about topics like "the evill weddir that was to cum" mirrors how other witches claimed to have talked to Satan.[59]

Another late sixteenth century case, that of Alison Pierson in 1588, describes an encounter with fairies and a man "cled in grene clathe." The man, unspecified as a fairy or the devil by Pierson, reportedly "said to hir gif scho wald be faithfull, he wald do hir guid."[60] He appeared again, this time as a "lustie mane, with mony mene and women."[61] Pierson discussed her interaction with this man and the fairies in a situation markedly similar to a witches' sabbath. She even received a mark from the fairies that was "blae and ewill sarrit [discolored and ill-looking]."[62] The appearance of a man in green who asked Pierson to be faithful, the large gatherings, the receipt of an unsightly mark on the body— these accorded completely, as we have seen, with the concept of the relationship between Satan and the Scottish witch.

Clearly ordinary Scots, for whom fairy belief had long been a part of their worldviews, often conflated or fused their beliefs about Satan with preexisting ideas about fairies or spirits. While authorities doubtless read or imposed demonic activities like the pact and the sabbath onto beliefs about fairies and spirits, ordinary Scots also actively incorporated "elite" demonology into their own conceptions of the supernatural world. This was likely a process begun before the Reformation. By the close of the sixteenth century, the actions of local kirk sessions and ministers, coupled with the public nature of the witch-trials gave the devil prominence in the worldviews of Scots of all

[59] Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, ii.52.
[60] Ibid.,163.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

sorts. Beliefs about the source of evil remained fluid and inclusive, a two-way street that allowed space for both the Reformed Protestant devil and the fairy beliefs of pre-reformation Scotland.

On the whole, arguments for the polarization of post-Reformation Scotland have much validity. In theory, clergymen undoubtedly viewed the world in dichotomous terms. Witchcraft served to illustrate, in the most provocative way possible, this polarization of the world. Neighbors, friends, even family members could be accused and convicted of witchcraft. The witch-trials thus provided ample evidence of Satan's activities in the world and the attending gulf between good and evil. For the witch trials to occur, a large number of ordinary folks had to embrace these newly defined parameters of good and evil, or the accusations would not have come so often from the ground level. Though they may not have explicitly cited the devil or the demonic pact in their initial testimonies, this does not mean that lay Scots did not understand the concept of witchcraft in demonic terms. At least by the beginning of the seventeenth-century, and probably earlier, the rampant activities of the devil in the world would have been familiar to Scots of all sorts who were exposed to frequent and passionate sermons on the topic.[63] The spread of knowledge of the witch-trials, in print and by word of mouth, also popularized the concept of demonic witchcraft. Thus while it is often difficult to tease out exactly when, where, and from whom diabolism entered the witch-trials, we should not assume that it was the elites alone who saw the world as divided and claimed an association between Satan and witches.

[63] See Chapter Two, above.

To explore more closely how ordinary folks understood the relationship between witchcraft and Satan, it is useful to look to sources beyond the documents of the witch-trials themselves. The records of the early modern Scottish Kirk sessions, discussed in detail in Chapter Three, provide such a source. Often in cases of flyting and cursing, ordinary Scots made references to the devil in the context of witch belief, even when no actual trial was involved. In Culross in 1654, William Dryld reported that a Margaret Wither had accused him of being a witch on whom "the dewill laid his mark."[64] A witness confirmed this report, saying that Wither had indeed called Drylda "witchburd whose master was the dewill."[65] This was basically an accusation of witchcraft and the demonic pact, but the kirk regarded the case as one of slander, probably based on the reputation of Margaret as a trouble-maker and the fact that no evidence of witchcraft was presented. Clearly, though, both Wither and Dryld understood two key components of Scottish witchcraft often promoted by educated elites— that witches were servants of the devil, and that this servitude could be identified by a mark left on the body by Satan.

Sometimes demonic insults referenced a relative who had been accused, convicted, or executed for witchcraft. In 1654 in Edinburgh, witnesses reported that Issobell Anderson had said to Mareon Rutherford that she hoped she "should die in the devills armes as her fathers sister did."[66] Another witness elaborated on this claim, detailing how Issobell "called Mareon Rutherfurd a devill, and that all the geir she had was by the Art of the devill, and that her fathers sister was burnt and she hoped she

[64] CH2/77/2, f. 115
[65] Ibid.
[66] CH2/141/2, f.42.

should goe the same gate."[67] More witnesses provided similar reports, and the case was sent to the presbytery. [68] As this brief case makes apparent, the conviction and execution of Mareon's aunt had made a considerable impact on communal memory.

These brief examples demonstrate that, beyond actual cases of witchcraft, ordinary Scots could and did understand concepts such as demonic servitude and the devil's mark. It remains, in most cases, debatable whether uneducated Scots recognized the connection between the devil and witchcraft, or if the demonic elements of witchcraft were primarily the preoccupation of elites. When one looks beyond the actual witchcraft cases themselves, however, the kirk session records reveal that in some instances ordinary Scots did indeed make the connection between the devil and the witch without official prompting. In their study of the texts of the North Berwick witch-hunt, Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts point out that "the elite/popular distinction should not obscure the fact that there was exchange among different social levels concerning the cultural formations that found their way into accounts of witchcraft."[69] Even more importantly, they point out, "the accounts of witchcraft that finally emerged were meaningful to people from a wide social range, educated as well as uneducated."[70] Witch-hunting was a community affair. By identifying convicted witches— who were often publicly executed— as servants of Satan, "good" Scots could identify themselves by pointing to precisely what they were not. Even if elites *originally* introduced the

[67] Ibid., f.43.
[68] Ibid., f.45.
[69] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland,* 68.
[70] Ibid.

demonic elements to witch-trials or attempted to recast fairy belief in accordance with Protestant demonology, it is clear that through the discussion of witchcraft in sermons, pamphlets, court records, and (albeit unrecoverable) personal conversation, by the mid-seventeenth century most Scots understood that the devil and the witch went hand and hand.

Everyman's Devil

Despite his apparent ability to harm, the devil found in witchcraft cases was rarely monstrous or obviously frightening. Rather, the accused recounted appearances of the devil in a matter-of-fact fashion, far removed from the now popular image of the hellish red beast with horns. As Joyce Millar put it, "it seems that in popular culture the Devil was more effective disguised in domesticity than disgust."[71] Most obviously, the devil appeared as a familiar animal or as a man wearing common clothing. Alongside the typically bland physical descriptions of Satan, the interactions with the devil testify to his surprising ordinariness. According to witchcraft cases, Satan often engaged in commonplace, and indeed human, activities with those accused of becoming his servants.

These interactions, ranging from copulation to exchange of money to conversation, could have all occurred between any Scottish man and woman. Even dancing with the devil was a tame affair. In a 1597 Aberdeen case, Thomas Leyis and other witches detailed how Satan had played music before them "on his kynd of instruments" for "ane long space of tyme." All present engaged in dancing and revelry, including the devil. Beyond his involvement, nothing outlandish characterized this

[71] Miller, "Men in Black,"154.

demonic ceilidh.[72] Exchanges of goods and money between Scots and Satan occurred in a quotidian fashion, as they would during a routine business exchange. The convicted sorcerer James Reid claimed to have learned his healing abilities from his master the devil, who gave him "thrie penneis at ane tyme" when they met.[73] Scottish men and women accused of witchcraft occasionally reported having ordinary yet strikingly bold conversations with the devil. North Berwick witch Agnes Sampson, for example, confessed to asking the devil to cure Robert Cass of an illness. When the devil refused to grant her request, Sampson demanded of him, "I man (must) have it!"[74] One of the witches involved in an outbreak at Stirling in 1658 was heard ordering Satan to get out of her bed.[75] Even the names that Satan bestowed upon the witches following the renunciation of their baptisms were usually conventional: to name a few, Janet Couper became "Nikkie Clark", Elspet Blackie became "Jonet Dalry", and Jonnet Man simply became "Bessie."[76]

Of course, the ordinariness of these interactions with Satan occurred in tandem with heinous or supernatural acts like infanticide, creation of effigies, shape-changing, and the occasional broomstick ride.[77] Yet these elements, however fascinating, were not the normal devil-witch interactions. As Lauren Martin points out, the very foundation of

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[72] *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 5 vols, ed. John Stuart (Aberdeen: The Spalding Club, 1841-52), i.97-98.
[73] Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, ii.420.
[74] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 152.
[75] CH2/722/6 f. 89-99. The particular witch ousting the devil from her bed was Janot Black.
[76] CH2/40/1 f. 161; JC26/27/5.
[77] For a very detailed and fantastic, though atypical, Scottish witchcraft case, see the 1662 trial of Isobel Gowdie, in Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, iii.602-15.

demonic involvement in witchcraft, the pact with Satan, recalled Scottish marriage as "a heterosexual, contract-like union between the witch and the Devil."[78] The devil found in Scottish witch-belief was thus a familiar and physical being, indicating the extent to which ideas about Satan had pervaded Scottish culture. The Scottish people believed in his presence on earth and expected his involvement in negative events like witchcraft. As a consequence, the devil's appearance was rarely shocking because of the very fact that it was assumed.[79]

Nathan Johnstone has insisted that, in the case of demonic belief in early modern England, witchcraft was marginal to more general perceptions of the devil. [80] While this is a debatable claim in the case of England, witchcraft in Scotland was not at all outside the pervasive demonic beliefs of clerical or lay Scots. The cases of witchcraft do display a greater emphasis on the physicality of the devil than did other contemporary sources, but they also reflect the elements of demonic belief found throughout the sources discussed in this dissertation. Some of these elements were, of course, likely imposed upon the witches or witnesses by the educated elites conducting the trials. Nonetheless, they reflect prevailing ideas about Satan that were anything but marginal in early modern

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[78] Martin, "The Devil and the Domestic," 74.

[79] The descriptions by accused witches of interacting with Satan, from kissing the devil's buttocks, having carnal relations with Satan, to performing demonically commanded spells were often provided after torture was utilized by the courts. Though these claims had no basis in reality, this does not mean that witches could not be made to believe the veracity of claims that now seem outlandish to a modern audience. More importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, those who read or heard about such confessions of copulation with the devil and other horrifying acts had little reason not to believe them. Even when details of recounted cases made it explicit that torture had been used to obtain confessions, and though some of the details of demonic interaction would have shocked early modern ears, audiences would not have been surprised to learn of Satan's attempts and successes to lure weak-hearted individuals into dreadful acts of sin.

[80] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 12-18.

Scotland. In *Newes from Scotland*, for example, the warlock Doctor Fian refused to confess his interactions with the devil even under severe torture. Fian's choice to remain mum was interpreted a sure sign of how "deeply had the devil entered into his heart."[81] The frequent sermons on the subject of demonic temptation and human sinfulness, paired with the manifest examples of these twin threats found in printed spiritual diaries, murder stories, and dying accounts, conditioned Scots to believe in and expect such occurrences. The result was a population that, on the whole, shared a common enemy in Satan and an awareness of their own susceptibility to temptation and delusion that could lead to acts as heinous as renouncing Christ in favor of demonic servitude.

In 1826, over a century after the last Scottish witch was executed, a broadside was published in Edinburgh detailing the crimes of witchcraft that had plagued Scotland in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[82] The anonymous author first cited Agnes Sampson of the famed North Berwick trials in 1590 who, along with her fellow witches, had "raised storms, and kissed the devil's a—e."[83] The broadside then recounted how others committed crimes such as meeting with Satan ("from whom he once received a severe drubbing for not keeping an appointment") and renouncing their baptisms. For their sinful actions, these women and men were strangled before being burned at the stake. According to the author, the last person was brought to the stake in Scotland in

[81] Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland*.
[82] According to the central court records, the last execution for witchcraft took place in Scotland in 1706, and the last trial occurred in 1727. In 1736, the British parliament repealed the Scottish witchcraft statute of 1563. See Levack, *Witch-hunting*, 131.
[83] *An account of the most remarkable Trials and Executions which took place in Scotland for above 300 years* (Glasgow, 1826). This broadside also discusses, to a lesser extext, cases of fornication and adultery.

1722, and "the devil has never been seen in Scotland since."[84] Generations removed from the last witch-hunt, the collective memory of witchcraft remained firmly wedded to Satan. If the devil was last seen in Scotland in 1722, his early modern appearances—physically before witches and internally in the minds of Scots of all sorts— left a lasting and consequential mark on Scottish society.

The Devil and Witch-belief in the British World

Witchcraft in the early modern British world has long been a subject of scholarly and popular fascination. [85] A comparison of witch-hunting in England and New England with that in Scotland illustrates key similarities and differences in the demonic beliefs of each community. Scottish witchcraft contained a consistent diabolical element that

[84] Ibid.

[85] For witch-hunting in England, see Gregory Durston, *Witchcraft and Witch Trials: a History of English Witchcraft and its Legal Perspectives, 1542 to 1736* (Chichester: Barry Rose Law Publishing, 2000); Malcom Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 2005); Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970); James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*: Witchcraft in Early Modern England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971); Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). On witchcraft in New England, see John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Knopf, 2002); Paul Boyer, and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass, 1974); Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Peter Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples: The Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials* (Baltimore, MD.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996); Carol F Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co.,1987); Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

centered on the belief that witches made a pact with Satan himself.[86] In a religious environment where individuals were gravely concerned with the devil and his actions during what seemed to be the Last Days, this was a serious and dangerous charge. Here the local Protestant clergy became the instigators of the persecutions as they sought to establish a godly kingdom in Scotland. In England, however, the witch-trials generally lacked this diabolical association. Witchcraft was not strictly defined in religious terms as it was in Scotland, explaining in part the comparatively mild nature of English witch-hunting. These religious factors combined with legal and political issues to render a Scottish woman "twelve times more likely than her English counterpart to be executed for witchcraft."[87]

The only time when the patterns of witch-hunting in England and Scotland converged was in revolutionary Britain. During the 1640's, England experienced its only mass witch-hunt. During this same period Scotland also prosecuted more witches than ever before. In a period of remarkable political, social, and religious unrest, the rise in Puritan sentiment in England led to increased commitment to moral reform and to the

[86] Though the pact with Satan was not as central to the witch belief in England as it was in Scotland, Puritans in England—the most important being William Perkins in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, published in London, 1608— did attempt to make the pact the premise for witch-hunting there. In his *Witchcraft Sourcebook*, Brian Levack explains that with this treatise, Perkins was one of a few English clergymen responsible for introducing continental European ideas of witchcraft, such as the demonic pact, to England. I would add that, based on the close composition dates and content of Perkins' *Damned Art* (written in 1602) and James VI's *Daemonologie* in 1597, the Scottish adoption of continental demonology was equally influential for Puritans in England. See Brian Levack, ed., *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 94-98.

[87] Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 1-2.

creation of a godly society.[88] As a consequence, the devil and his minions— political enemies, papists, and witches— became a central target of the English church and government.

This height of demonic belief in England, and the corresponding witch-hunting fervor, was relatively short lived. In the second half of the seventeenth century, intellectuals in England became increasingly skeptical about witchcraft. Unprecedented debate about the devil's ability to operate in the world ensued amidst scientific developments and an increasing emphasis on empirical proof.[89] This was not, however, a straightforward, linear, or complete "decline of magic," nor does an intellectual explanation fully account for why the trials in England and elsewhere ended. [90] The skeptical voices in England had little impact on the actual trials themselves; it was not until the trials had already declined or ended that most elites began to reject the idea of

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[88] Of course, religious differences alone do not account for the rise in witch-hunting during the 1640's. The witch-trials in Revolutionary England were often conducted by inexperienced local authorities at the quarter sessions rather than assize justices, a deviation from normal practice caused by disruptions in the usual judicial machinery. This practice allowed for unprecedented use of torture, and more closely resembled the Scottish witch-trials than the previous English trials. See Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland,* 55-80

[89] See Oldridge, *Devil in Early Modern England*, 163-164.

[90] Until recently, many scholars of witchcraft uncritically accepted Keith Thomas's explanation of the end of the witch-trials and the more general decline of magic in Europe: that the rise of rationalism and scientific thinking among European elites resulted in the rejection of previously held demonological ideas. Jonathan Barry has argued in his recent work on witchcraft and demonology during the supposed period of "decline," from 1640-1789, that we cannot accept this idea of the decline of magic uncritically. Through the assessment of six cases of witchcraft an magic in late seventeenth and eighteenth century south-west England, Barry concludes that there was no teleological decline of magic, but rather a complex amalgamation of folk and intellectual belief contingent upon the specific circumstances of different areas in England. See Jonathan Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology in South-West England, 1640-1689* (Balingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

witchcraft itself.[91] Moreover, the sharp decrease and eventual end of witch trials should not be understood uncritically as a reflection of private beliefs about the devil and his witches. Theologians and ordinary people continued to believe in the reality of Satan well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[92]

Nonetheless, partly as a reaction to the actual decline of the witch-trials, in early modern England intellectuals did begin to call into question the capacity of the devil to affect human life in tangible ways, especially by means of witchcraft. [93] Reformed theology, with its latent incongruities about salvation, Satan's powers, and divine sovereignty, did not satisfy many who wanted a more concrete answer than the assertion that some mysteries are beyond man's comprehension. In late seventeenth century Scotland, conversely, Satan continued to hold prominence of place in the minds of Scots of all sorts. Scotland experienced a major witch panic in 1661-2 that resulted in the accusation of at least 660 persons, after which Scottish witch-hunting began a slow, uneven decline that continued until the last prosecution in 1727.[94] When the trials did come to an end, witchcraft was still considered a reality. The skeptical voices of the Englishman Reginald Scot or the Dutchman Balthasar Bekker found no counterparts in Scotland, where the few critics of witch-hunting were unwilling to challenge witch-belief

[91] For a recent account of the decline of witch-belief, see Edward Bever, "Witchcraft Persecutions and the Decline of Magic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40 (2009), 264. See Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 132.

[92] On the persistent belief in the supernatural, see Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

[93] Jonathan Barry has pointed out that beginning in the seventeenth century and increasingly thereafter, "witchcraft cases raised specific problems for those defending and describing the world of spirits" which "made them increasingly less attractive as stories compared to other forms of spirit activity" such as ghosts. When they were published, the point was not to defend the existence of witches or even the devil, but rather the spirit world and God himself. See Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 262.

[94] See Brian P. Levack, "The Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-1662," 90.

itself.[95] Rather, legal caution and the reduction of torture led to the end of witch-hunting, without an attending challenge to orthodox demonology.

The preoccupation with devil that propelled much of Scottish, but not English, witch-hunting was also pervasive in the witch-panic that consumed Salem and other parts of New England during the 1690's. The period of witch-hunting in the English colonies in North America, concentrated almost exclusively in New England, highlights the affinity between Scottish and Puritan demonic belief. The most famous trials, those in Salem, were set in motion by initial "fits" of three young girls— eventually considered demonic possession— and the ensuing accusation and trial of nearly 200 persons for witchcraft. Diabolism, rather than maleficium, lay at the heart of the definition of New England witchcraft, a capital crime defined as "solemn compaction or conversing with the Devil," "fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit," or commonly as "giving entertainment to Satan."[96]

Certainly, as many historians have argued, social, economic, and political tensions actuated the witch-trials in Salem and elsewhere.[97] The Salem court's allowance of

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[95] Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 133.

[96] The first definition comes from the Plymouth Statute of 1636, printed in Drake, Samuel G., *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* (New York, 1869), 56; the second comes from the 1641 "laws of judgment" of Southampton, Long Island, reprinted in George R. Howell, *The Early History of Southampton, L.I., New York* (Albany, N.Y., 1887). Sources as quoted in Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 23. Richard Godbeer explains that prior to the Salem trials, courts had difficulty actually proving the demonic pact, around which the definition of the crime centered, and thus of the 61 cases of witchcraft prior to Salem, only 26.2 percent of the accused were convicted and executed. Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 158-9.

[97] For such socio-economic interpretations of the witch-trials in New England, see the still influential Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*, and more recently, Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare*, which considers the Indian Wars on the Maine-New Hampshire border as a key precipitate of the Salem witch-trials.

spectral evidence was also key to the implication of a large number of suspects.[98] Without the tense religious environment created by strict Puritanism and the attending demonic belief, however, the witch-trials in Salem would have never reached their now famous fever pitch. As in Scotland, New England divines desired to create a godly community, a New Jerusalem to serve as a "city upon a hill." As part of this mission, witches and other deviants in league with Satan would have to be persecuted, and the New England clergy were eager to conduct these prosecutions. [99] This clerical leadership characterized the witch-trials in New England and in Scotland, but not in England, where the centralized government at Westminster tightly held the reins of the prosecutions.[100] Beyond the legal and political constraints placed upon the English clergy, the obsession with the creation of a godly community through the combat of Satan was mitigated by dissent in the English church.

Demonic belief was just one component of complex, layered situations that led to fervent and deadly witch-hunting in Scotland, New England, and throughout early modern Europe. Yet without the demonic pact, which comprised the very definition of the crime of witchcraft in these areas, the witch-trials in Scotland and New England would have lacked the urgency that Satan instilled. England, on the other hand, generally

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[98] This point is made in Levack, *The Witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 205. For a thorough appraisal of the legal context of the Salem witchcraft trials, see Paul Hoffer, *The Salem Witchcraft Trials: A Legal History* (Lawrence, KS: The University of Kansas, 1997).

[99] As in Scotland, New England clerics were careful to temper discussions of the devil's involvement in witchcraft with the assertion that the will of an all-sovereign God lay behind all the actions of Satan and his servants. As John Demos explains that "the ultimate triumph of the Almighty God was assured. But in particular times and places Satan might achieve some temporary success—and claim important victims…God, meanwhile, opposed this onslaught of evil—and yet He also permitted it. For errant men and women there was no more effective means of 'chastening.'" Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 10.

[100] Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland,* 32

lacked this demonically-induced fervor, with the exception of witch-hunting during the English Civil War. This brief survey of witch-hunting in New England, England, and Scotland thus illustrates the profound influence that ideas about Satan had on the definition and prosecution of witchcraft, as well as the general affinity of Scottish and New England demonic belief.

Demonic Possession

While cases of witchcraft abounded in early modern Scotland, the oft-related phenomenon of demonic possession did not.[101] This near-absence of possession cases sets early modern Scotland apart from many other European countries. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe, men, women, and children from France to Germany to Russia experienced fits of possession.[102] Only in 1696 with the notorious case of demoniac Christian Shaw did demonic possession become an important component— and product— of Scottish demonic belief. Shaw was an eleven year-old Renfrewshire girl possessed by a demonic spirit in typical fashion: she had fits, her head twisted around and her tongue stuck out of her mouth with remarkable length, she vomited hair, gravel, pins, bones and feathers, and she was reportedly carried through her

[101] Demonic spirits were said to enter victims in two ways: the spirit could possess the body on its own, with God's permission, or possession could occur at the command of a witch. Thus, witches were often accused of having caused demonic possession. Still, it is important to remember that demonic possession and witchcraft were also two very distinct phenomena. This was particularly true in Scotland, where the vast majority of the witch-trials had no connection whatsoever to cases of possession. See Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 115-130; Levack, "Demonic Possession in Early Modern Scotland," in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, 166-184.

[102] On demonic possession in early modern Europe, see Erik Midelfort, "The Devil on the German People: Reflections on the Popularity of Demonic Possession in Sixteenth-century Germany," in *Religion and Culture in the Reformation*, ed. Susan Ozment (Kirksville, MO, 1989); Christina Worobec, *Possessed: Women, Witches, and Demons in Imperial Russia* (Dekaalb, Ill., 2001); see Levack, *The Devil Within; Demonic Possession in Early Modern Europe*, forthcoming 2013.

house with her feet off the ground.[103] In the midst of her fits, Shaw accused two women, a maid and a neighbor, of causing her possession by means of witchcraft. Shaw subsequently added others to the list of witches responsible for her afflicted state, and in the end, a total of twenty-four people were indicted for witchcraft. Seven of these were eventually convicted and executed.[104]

The subsequent series of possession cases that spanned the eight year period from 1696 to 1704 were closely linked with the Shaw case and its popularization as *A True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girl*.[105] Two years after Shaw's possession, Margaret Murdoch and Margaret Laird accused more than twenty individuals of causing them demonic affliction through witchcraft.[106] These cases involved both girls demonstrating symptoms typical of demonic possession and closely resembling that of Shaw's case, including contortions, spitting out pins and other foreign objects, uncontrolled thrashing, and accusations of various tormentors.[107] These girls had grown up in the same area as Shaw and had likely heard details of her affliction. In the case of the 1704 possession of sixteen-year-old Patrick Morton, the minister Patrick Cowper had actually read Shaw's account to the teen when his fits began.[108] Clearly, then, the case

[103] *A True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girle* (Edinburgh, 1698), reprinted in *A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire* (Paisley, 1877).
[104] Levack, "Demonic Possession," 172.
[105] For details of these cases, see Levack, "Demonic Possession," 169-171.
[106] Wod. Fol. XXVIII, ff. 168r-174v.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland*, 121.

of Christian Shaw provided a script for demoniacs in Scotland to follow in performing their possession.[109]

The Salem witchcraft trials and the cases of demonic possession that attended them also influenced the string of possessions in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Scotland. Cotton Mather's account of the *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions,* which detailed the possessions of the Goodwin children at the hands of washerwoman Mary Glover in 1688, was published in Scotland in 1697. A slightly amended account of the Goodwin children's possession had been published in London in 1691, and English copies likely circulated throughout Scotland prior to the publication of the Edinburgh edition.[110] No doubt the interest in possession generated by Shaw's case the year prior prompted the later printing of *Memorable Providences* in Scotland. The descriptions of the Goodwin children's bewitching included tongues hanging out of their mouths "to a prodigious length", bulging eyes and contorted necks, bouts of deafness and dumbness interspersed with shrieking and the "most pitteous out-cries."[111] A rapid best-seller in New England, *Memorable Providences* influenced the performance and interpretation of possession during the Salem witch-trials. A ten-page narrative of the possession of the group of young girls at Salem, Deodat Lawson's *A Brief and True Narrative of Some Remarkable Passages Relating to Sundry Persons Afflicted*

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[109] Ibid., 121.

[110] The title of the version published in London was *Late memorable providences relating to witchcrafts and possessions clearly manifesting, not only that there are witches, but that good men (as well as others) may possibly have their lives shortned by such evil instruments of Satan.* This version includes a preface by English Puritan clergyman Richard Baxter, but the text of Mather's original *Memorable Possessions* is the same.

[111] Cotton Mather, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (orig. Boston, 1689; Edinburgh, 1697).

by Witchcraft, at Salem Village was published in Boston in 1692.[112] Christian Shaw's story, printed as *A True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girl* in 1698, bore noteworthy resemblance in style and content to the text of Lawson's narrative.[113]

Brian Levack argues that demonic possessions ought to be viewed as reflective of the specific religious cultures in which they occurred, regardless of the individual causes of possession.[114] Scottish religious culture can be credited with both dearth of demoniacs and the status and behaviors of the few that did become afflicted. The scarcity and belatedness of possession in Scotland reveal more about the role of Satan in Scottish society than do the cases themselves. Scottish theologians believed in the possibility of possession as much as their Catholic and Protestant counterparts in Britain and on the Continent did.[115] James VI himself had acknowledged the devil's ability to possess humans in *Daemonologie,* though he rejected the traditional methods of exorcism in favor of the Protestant rituals of fasting and prayer.[116] The reasons for the belated and sparse nature of demonic possession in Scotland can be explained, at least in part, by certain elements of Reformed Protestantism and the attending Reformed demonic belief. First, the doctrine of double predestination rendered possession a very risky occurrence in early modern Scotland, where the demoniacs would have likely been assigned moral responsibility for their own possession. As we have seen in Scottish sermons and

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[112] Deodat Lawson, *A Brief and True Narrative of Some Remarkable Passages Relating to Sundry Persons Afflicted by Witchcraft, at Salem Village* (Boston, 1692).
[113] Hugh V. McLachlan, ed. *The Kirk, Satan and Salem: A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire* (Glasgow: Grimsay Press, 2006), 491.
[114] See Levack, *The Devil Within,* forthcoming.
[115] See Levack, *Witch-hunting in Scotland,* 122.
[116] Ibid.

personal writings, men and women held primary culpability for falling victim to the temptations of Satan. They had failed to safeguard their hearts and minds against his assaults; their bodies were no different. In a culture ripe with apocalyptic anxiety about salvation, Scots were hesitant to behave in ways that might demonstrate to themselves and to others any sign of reprobation. It was not until the doctrinaire emphasis on double predestination declined in the late seventeenth century that possession cases became a viable expression of Scottish demonic belief.[117] Equally crucial, during this period Reformed Protestant ministers stopped assigning moral blame to demoniacs, and instead looked to cases of possession as an opportunity to prove the existence of spirits amidst new debates within British demonology.[118]

Second, the emphasis on the depravity of man and ubiquity of the devil, a mainstay of Scottish sermons, provides another explanation for the missing demoniacs.

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[117] This is demonstrated by the fact that was not until the eighteenth century and later that cases of demonic possession began to be widely printed. In one particularly revealing broadside, printed sometime between 1810 and 1830, a man named John Fox was reported to have been possessed "with a devil," who caused Fox to experience bodily fits and speak in strange voices. A local minister, Mr. Rothwell, came to see Fox in an attempt to oust the devil through prayer and conversation. The devil (speaking through Fox) told Rothwell that Fox was a murderer and cannot repent, and thus was damned. Rothwell denied this charge, and the devil eventually gave up trying to convince him otherwise. Sensing his victory over the devil, Rothwell asked the family and friends who had gathered in Fox's home to join him in prayer against Satan's assaults: "Good people. You see the goodness of our God, and his great power, though the devil made a fool of me even now, through my weakness, God hath made the devil dumb now; do but observe how the man lies, therefore Let us go to prayer, and that God who hath made him dumb, will, I doubt not, drive him out of this poor man."[117] Finally, through collective prayer, Rothwell succeeded in ridding Fox of the assaults by Satan, a victory which he attributed solely to the supreme power of God. As with the stories of possession from the 17th and 18th century, the prevailing message of this broadside was the strength of God contrasted with the frailty of man and the deceit of Satan. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this case is that it took place not in 19th century Glasgow, when and where the broadside was printed, but in Nottingham, England during the 17th century. What was the impetus for Glaswegian printers to produce such a story so many years and miles away from where it had occurred? Clearly, the Scottish public had retained a taste not only for sensational stories of possession, but for the Calvinist moralizing that attended them. See *Broadside concerning a man who became possessed by an evil spiri*t (Glasgow, ca.1810-1830).

[118] Levack, *Witch-hunting*, 125.

Scottish sermons consistently stated that the devil already had a natural, innate possession of many men and women's hearts, and that he gained an easy possession of their minds through temptation and the implantation of doubt. This was, of course, not the physical, outwardly manifest demonic possession as displayed in the case of Christian Shaw. Still, both the clergy and ordinary Scots may have assumed that Satan already partly possessed most post-lapsarian men and women (the reprobate) in an internal, spiritual way. Evidence of this possession was manifest in witchcraft, murder, political turmoil, etc. The devil also held a natural sway over the elect, at least in terms of their innate inclinations. Individuals were accordingly less inclined to dramatically act out this partial possession because it was an assumed part of spiritual warfare: they must resist the hold Satan had on them— and this they must do internally, by protecting their hearts and minds through prayer. For them, physically acting as though Satan was in their mind and bodies did not really have a place in the cultural script in Scotland. Due to the emphasis on the depravity of man and the belief in predestined reprobation, demonic possession was, in a subtle, spiritually innate sense, a constant component of Reformed Protestantism.

When a limited number of possessions began to occur in Scotland in the late seventeenth century, the vast majority of Scottish demoniacs were adolescents or youths between the ages of eleven and seventeen. The reason for their affliction lay, at least partly, in their contemplation of the issue of damnation at this delicate time in their lives. As conversion narratives and personal covenants composed by educated teens attest, the years when individuals first became cognizant of their fallen state and uncertain salvation

were fraught with spiritual anxiety. According to retrospective spiritual diaries, many of the most intense moments of demonic assaults also occurred during adolescence.[119]

Mistress Rutherford's conversion narrative, a model of this adolescent angst, detailed at length her despair in considering Satan and her own sinfulness during her teenage year. Believing that she was doomed to hell, "the sight and sense of these things put my soul in such torment as is inexpressible, finding myself guilty of every tribunal of God and my own conscience."[120] Rutherford was plagued by apparitions of the devil, who tempted her to "put violent hands in my self, making me think it so far from sin, that it would be looked be good service to God to execut his justice on such a traitor that looked so well favoured."[121] When Katherine Collace entered into a personal covenant with God at the age of fourteen, she was beset with demonic assaults. "Being under a violent fit of sickness, so that I could not more out of a bed, and setting myself to prayer, Satan in his usual was opposing, to the breaking of my body."[122] At the age of thirteen, James Fraser of Brea contemplated the sins he had recently committed, and while lying in bed one night, "such horror as made me tremble with an unaccustomed fear… I essayed to pray, but could not get my mouth opened; there did a number of blasphemies and cursings run in my mind with great horror and against my will, which I thought was the devil in me."[123] While none of these Scots actually became demoniacs, their adolescent

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[119] See Chapter Four, above.
[120] Mistress Rutherford, "Conversion Narrative,"163.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Collace, "Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises," 45.
[123] James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs of James Fraser of Brea" in *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841), 103.

struggles with Satan suggest why, when possession became a more viable option for expressing demonic struggles in the 1690's, Scottish adolescents found themselves the most vulnerable.

Conclusion

Cases of demonic possession, or the lack thereof, reflected that in a society where Satan's presence was preeminent and assumed, individuals had less impetus to act out that presence in a physical and extraordinary way. Witchcraft trials also demonstrate a paradoxical aspect of Satan in Scotland: his ubiquity rendered him a very threatening, but also very ordinary, figure. This constant yet powerful presence of the devil reveals that Reformed demonic ideas had become a key part of Scottish "popular" culture and identity. Scottish demonic belief fell along a spectrum, in which clearly influential Reformed demonic ideas blended with traditional notions about the physicality of Satan to produce a devil that was surprisingly quotidian—and dangerous because of this quotidian pervasiveness.

By examining descriptions of Satan in cases of witchcraft, it becomes apparent that there was no clear cut, singular devil in early modern Scotland. Satan appeared in an assortment of guises, from insect to man to fairy, all of which were deemed both acceptable (in terms of belief) and dangerous by authorities. As Joyce Miller has pointed out, there seems to have been no attempt by authorities to promote a definitive, Reformed Protestant image of Satan.[124] Though our knowledge of the direct questioning involved

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[124] Miller, "Men in Black," 149.

in the witch-trials is very limited, it seems that like the people they questioned, the elite authorities seem to have held a variety of demonic beliefs.

What is clear is that regardless of what form Satan took, the danger of the devil remained his powers of coercion and spiritual delusion— it was upon these powers that the actions of the witches themselves were predicated. The devil did not need to appear as a physically intimidating monster to be intensely threatening, to individuals or to Scottish society as a whole. His actions, even in cases of witchcraft, remained primarily spiritual and internal. By the act of convincing the witches to enter into a pact and effectively renounce their baptism, Satan overturned the most central and sacred element of Reformed Protestantism in Scotland: the covenant with God. Nothing could be more dangerous for a society seeking godly conformity in anticipation of the Last Days.

Chapter Seven: Satan and the Scots

In examining the role played by Satan in the lives of Scots of all sorts, one effect of demonic belief appears conspicuous among the rest. Self-writings and sermons, and to a lesser extent pamphlet literature, court records, and the comparative dearth of possession cases, demonstrate a phenomenon associated with Satan that I term "the internalization of the demonic." By this term, I refer to the experience of profound anxiety and self-identification as evil that occurred during personal, internal engagement with Satan. In early modern Scotland, personal identity became bound up with beliefs about the devil and his inescapably intimate relationship with postlapsarian man. This was not a conscious process but a product of certain aspects of Reformed theology, namely the connections between Satan, innate depravity, and predestination, and their dissemination from the pulpit and in print. Scottish men and women embraced and ruminated upon by these ideas, anxious to feel secure about their own salvation in exceedingly insecure times. The resulting internalization of the demonic came to define the experience of Satan in early modern Scotland and, as will be explored, godly England and New England.[1]

[1]For the purposes of this chapter, I am here using both the terms "godly" and "Puritan" to refer to those in England and New England who ascribed to the general tenets of the Reformed Protestant faith. I have conformed, when possible, to how the individuals discussed self-identified, as well as how other scholars have categorized them. When in doubt, I have borrowed from John Stachnewski to define Puritans as "people whose minds appear to have been captured by the questions whether or not they were members of the elect, and how the life of an elect (and elect community), in contradiction to that of a reprobate, should be ordered." Of course, this fuzzy definition glosses over divisions within this group. These divisions, however important, are not especially consequential for discussions of demonic belief and experiences with Satan. See John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of. Religious Despair*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 11. See my introduction for a discussion of my terminology as it pertains to Scotland.

Satan has often been associated with the process of demonization— the "othering" and dehumanizing of religious foes.[2] Elaine Pagels has examined how the very concept of was Satan developed by theologians (Jewish and then Christian) who increasingly used scripture to associate their enemies with the devil. Soon, the demonization of others—"first other Jews, then pagans, and later dissident Christians called heretics"— became a foundational component of Christian mentality.[3] Building upon this concept of external demonization, scholars have traditionally explained the concept of the devil himself in terms of opposition and contrariety.[4] This understanding of Satan accords with the fact that in many respects, cosmic oppositions governed religiosity in early modern Europe: Good against Evil, God versus Satan, Catholics opposing Protestants, and Christ facing the Antichrist. As John Knox once professed, "In religioun thair is na middis: either it is the religioun of God…or els it is the religioun of

[2] Historians of late medieval Europe in particular have explored the "demonization" of others as part of the growing power of the Catholic church and the centralization of European states. R.I. Moore has famously examined how from the tenth through thirteenth centuries, Europe underwent an elite-led transformation into a society, dominated by the Catholic church, that sought to define itself by marginalizing and "demonizing" those who did not conform to "normal" orthodox society. See Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (New York: Blackwell, 1987), 64-5, 89-91. Norman Cohn, in his discussion of the beginnings of the European witch-hunts, examines how the growing emphasis on the devil among Christian elites led to the demonization and scapegoating of others through the creation of the stereotype of the witch. Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, orig. 1985), 16-59.

[3] Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (London: Allen Lane, 1996), xvii.

[4] The most important scholar who has both employed and promoted this binary understanding of the devil is Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Clark, "Inversion, Misrule, and the Meaning of Witchcraft," *Past and Present*, 87 (1980): 98-127. See also Jeffery Burton Russell, *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1986). As Ethan Shagan has recently pointed out, historians of early modern England in particular have applied this discussion of contrariety, originally used by Clark to explain witchcraft and Satan, to early modern society as a whole. He argues that this dualistic approach, while certainly useful, has led scholars to overlook the importance of the logic of moderation and the finding of middle way in early modern society. See Shagan, "Beyond Good and Evil: Thinking with Moderates in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 49 (2010): 488-513.

the Divill."[5] Militaristic conceptions of the warring of the armies of God and Satan were intrinsic to how Protestant theologians and reformers explained the tumultuous events around them. The language of cosmic struggle resonated with many early modern men and women, who were constantly beleaguered by political, economic, and religious hardship.

It is thus unsurprising that historians have often understood the cultural import of Satan in these oppositional terms. The crucial function of Satan was to define negatively what was good and human.[6] The attending process of demonizing others meant that the devil was not only a powerful belief, but a dangerous social tool in the early modern world.[7] In examining demonic belief in early modern Scotland, however, it becomes clear that within the religious experiences of individuals, the demonizing of others was a process secondary to the internal relationship with Satan. The internalization of the demonic was a product of the Reformed emphasis on sin, the innate depravity of humankind, and the insecurity of salvation. The combination of these doctrines caused the self-identified godly in Scotland to place their actions and thoughts, past and present, under intense scrutiny. Scholars, most notably those concerned with English Puritanism, have long recognized the psychological consequences of emphasis on the doctrine of

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[5] John Knox, *Works*, ed. David Laing, ed. 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846), iv.232.

[6] On this point, see Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, esp. xxvii- xx.

[7] As discussed at length in the introduction to this dissertation, the identification of the ways in which the devil was used as a tool or served a specific function in early modern Scotland does not contradict or question the reality of demonic belief. While the devil did serve, in some respects, as a social tool through the demonization of others, this does not imply that those doing the demonizing did not genuinely believe their enemies were in league with Satan. Rather, deeply rooted beliefs in and experiences of the devil were not mutually exclusive from the broader socio-cultural purposes of the devil.

predestination.[8] This is the first study, however, to thoroughly investigate the experiential relationship between Satan, these Reformed doctrines, and the internal angst they produced.

The Search for Sin

The practice of locating one's sins, repenting for them, and looking to God for relief occurred throughout the early modern world in a variety of guises. Stuart Clark has argued that according to preachers in Protestant Europe, the proper response to demonic affliction, and misfortune more generally, ought to be an appraisal of recent and past sins that may have invited the specific misfortunes. Men and women facing demonically-induced hardship should "begin with reflections on faith and sin, move on to the twin therapies of repentance and patience, and conclude with requests for divine and clerical assistance." [9]

In the responses of the Scottish godly to actions of Satan, this intermediary step of repentance was generally a component of introspective appraisals of sin. As Scottish spiritual diaries and sermons attest, there was little emphasis on formal repentance or patience, unless as punishments for specific crimes as doled out by the kirk sessions. Rather, when facing onslaughts from the devil, the taking of a moral inventory and

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[8] John Stachniewski has argued that Protestantism's uncompromising emphasis on predestination and damnation isolated its less confident adherents because they worried that their experience of despair would be interpreted by the godly as a sign of reprobation. See Stachniewsski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of. Religious Despair*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 17-61. Nathan Johnstone has argued against this interpretation of Puritanism, claiming that the experience of the devil was "far more differentiated than the historical emphasis on the darker psychological implications of predestinarian theology suggest." While this may be so, but Reformed theology and the negative ways that it could shape lived experience cannot be ignored. See Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 108.

[9] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 445-456. In this chapter, tellingly titled "Cases of Conscience," Clark also argues that Catholics would soon assume a similar understanding of the misfortune caused by witchcraft.

acknowledgement of one's own sinful heart served as a crucial form of repentance in and of itself. This general Protestant tendency assumed its most extreme form in the Reformed areas of Scotland, England, and New England, where belief in the innate and total depravity of man directed the theological and pastoral discussions of Satan.

The English Puritan pastoral tradition, spread north of the border in printed sermons and devotional guides, was integral to the development of this process of internalizing the demonic in Scotland. Frank Luttmer, in his article on the reprobate in Puritan practical divinity, discusses how English preachers painted the unregenerate as individuals who, even when seemingly innocuous, "were in reality 'natural men' who had rejected God, the Gospel and the godly and who were in bondage to 'the flesh, the world, and the devil.'"[10] According to Luttmer, through the discussion of the unreformed, English Puritan preachers hoped to "convert people and aid them in their spiritual development" and to encourage them to live godly lives.[11] Central to Luttmer's argument is that Puritan preachers viewed the world in cosmically oppositional terms, and that the "unregenerate were accomplices in a vast and intricate conspiracy of cosmic evil to destroy souls, a conspiracy orchestrated by the 'murderer' of souls 'from the

[10]Frank Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000): 37-68.

[11] Scottish preachers did not spend a good deal of time discussing the unreformed and reprobate, but rather focused on the spiritual dereliction of all people, not least the elect. Certainly Scottish divines aimed to educate their parishioners, but conversion of the unreformed remained secondary to the goal of encouraging introspection and self-purification, which place the battle against demonic temptation at the forefront of Scottish piety. Of course, in England, where zealous Puritans were consistently in the minority, preachers hoped their words would reach more mixed audiences. Moreover, as the Reformation was more incomplete in England than in Scotland, these preachers also hope their portrayals of the unreformed would cause those harboring "beliefs and attitudes they had inherited from the past.

beginning', the devil."[12] Here he articulates a crucial element of demonic belief in the early modern Protestant world, and a motivating factor in complex phenomena such as the witch-trials.

This concern for Satan and his legions of the reprobate was only one component of demonic belief in Scotland and Puritan England alike, where the activities of the devil were predicated upon the spiritual depravity of all men and women. Augustine had considered human behavior to be the ultimate evidence of Satan's presence in the world, more than any general mischance or misfortune.[13] Like Augustine, John Calvin was concerned with demonic activity primarily because of its connection to the sinfulness of all men and women. Even the elect, he wrote, remained subject to the "the flesh, the world, and the devil" because they were "besprinkled only with a few drops by the Spirit."[14] As English clergyman John Downame wrote, all progeny of Adam were "made backward unto all good, and prone unto all evill."[15]

Even children, according to Reformed Protestants on both sides of the border, were totally corrupted "limbs of Satan."[16] Thomas Locke, a Scottish schoolteacher, explained that children were "followers of Sathan" who by their very nature were "of our

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[12] Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals," 41.

[13] On this point, see Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 47.

[14] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (1539), trans. Rev. John Owen. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), 308.

[15] John Downame, *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1634), 1041.

[16] See Strachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 97-8. Leah Marcus has argued that it was this Protestant obsession with original sin that lead to a greater desire amongst families and communities to connect with and education their children. See Leah Marcus, *Childhood and Cultural Despair: A Theme and Variations in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978), 55.

father the devil."[17] Ministers, parents, and educators made sure that the children themselves also knew of their fallen state. A 1672 broadside of two prayers to be taught specifically to Scottish schoolchildren highlighted the theme of human sin contrasted with God's goodness. The morning prayer tellingly instructed children to first thank God for the sacrifice of his son and then to recognize their innate corruption by saying "O, most merciful God, I am a poor and miserable sinner, conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity…I do therefore deserve thy wrath and curse."[18]

Ministers sought to convey the concept of human depravity, so central to Reformed theology, to all Protestants, regardless of age or gender. Accordingly, Reformed discussions of Satan— those found in sermons, theological writings, spiritual diaries, and pamphlet literature— frequently coincided with warnings about man's evil heart. This, in conjunction with the influence of an Augustinian introspective tradition to be discussed below, led to the process among godly Scots that I have identified as the internalization of the demonic. Though his emphasis is on the pastoral tradition rather than reactions to the ideas found in sermons and theological writings, Luttmer alludes to a similar process in England. In discussions of the unregenerate versus the regenerate in England, Puritan preachers identified the internal warfare that transpired in the hearts of the godly as they tried to resist Satan and their own base predilections.[19] This evil nature, Puritan divines stressed, encouraged the sins most abhorrent to God, such as "Atheisme and Blasphemy; or touching men, as others or our selves, as unnatural killings, selfe

[17] Wod. Qu. LXXXII, f. 159. For more on Locke and this address, see Chapter Four, above.
[18] Anonymous, *Two prayers to be taught unto children at school* (Edinburgh, 1672).
[19] Luttmer, "Prosecutors, Tempters and Vassals," 45-46.

murders, pollutions against nature, passions of dishonor, and the like."[20] To recognize this inner-warfare was intrinsic to a godly life. This recognition came only from intense soul-searching and attending acknowledgement of one's weakness and susceptibility to Satan.

This self-surveillance was an element of practical piety inherited, in part, from the works of original Protestant Reformers, whose emphasis on introspection derived from a pervasive Augustinian heritage.[21] Theodore Beza, a disciple of Calvin and the man largely responsible for bringing the concepts of predestination and supralapsarianism to the forefront of Reformed theology, underscored the importance of soul-searching when he wrote that "When Satan putteth us in doubt of our election, we may not search first the resolution in the eternal council of God, whose majesty we cannot comprehend, but on the contrary we must begin at the sanctification which we feel in ourselves."[22] The Puritan practice of diary keeping in England began in the 1580s and 1590s, thanks to the promotion by William Perkins, a man directly influenced by the ideas of Beza.[23] By the early seventeenth century, this practice had proliferated in England, as it did in Scotland a few decades later.[24] Perkins, as the most frequently reprinted English author between 1590 and 1620, became the wellspring for much of Reformed Protestant thinking. His

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[20] Richard Capel, *Tentations: their nature, danger, and care* (London, 1633), 53.
[21] In particular, Augustine's *Confessions* (written AD 397- 398) provided the model for examining and recording the sins of one's past in a systematic way.
[22] Quoted in Lynn B. Tipson, Jr, "The Development of a Puritan Understanding of Conversion" (PhD. Dissertation: Yale University, 1972), 119.
[23] Supralapsarianism is the view that God's decrees of election and reprobation logically preceded the decree of the fall.
[24] On Puritan spiritual diaires, see Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken, 1972), 18-24. See also Chapter Four, note 11.

ideas, particularly his focus on predestination and the necessity of introspection, found quick acceptance in Protestant Scotland. Here, the Perkins brand of practical, reflective divinity undoubtedly influenced the composition of self-writings, a genre to which the Scots appended their unique focus on covenanting.[25]

Perkins' *A Case of Conscience*, for example, was printed in Edinburgh as well as London in 1592. In it, he recognized the fears propagated by the doctrine of predestination: "In Gods Church commonlie they, who are touched by the Spirit, and begin to come on in religion, are much troubled with feare, that they are not Gods children, and none so much as they. Therefore, they often thinke on this point, and are not quiet till they find some resolution."[26] Perkins hoped his work would dispel these fears by offering his readers the advice that they must confess their sins in order to experience any knowledge of salvation. If any reader was so secure to think himself or herself morally spotless, he preempted any such assertion by reminding them of the words of 1 John 1:10: "*if we say* (as they before named do) *we haue not sinned, we mak him a liar* (whose word speaks the contrarie,) *and his worde is not in vs.* (his doctrine hath noe place in our heartes)."[27] Every man and woman, because of their very natures, committed sin, often at the instigation of the devil. As Perkins penned in his influential 1590 catechism, "all men are wholly corrupted with in through Adam's fall, and so are become slaves of Satan." He went so far as to aver that "the affections of the heart…are moved and stirred

[25] Benedict, *Christ's Church,* 521-2.
[26] William Perkins, *A Case of Conscience, the greatest that euer was; how a man may know whether he be the child of God or no* (London, 1592).
[27] Ibid. Italics denote the words of Scripture.

to that which is evill, to imbrace it, and they are never stirred to that which is good, unlesse it be to eskew it." [28]

Another English devotional guide that left its mark on Scottish piety was Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety, Directing the Christian how to walk that he may please God*. Originally written in 1611, *Practice of Piety* was the most frequently reprinted book in England from 1603-1640.[29] It was also reprinted in Scotland at least six times between 1630 and 1667, long after Bayly's death in 1631. [30] It can also be assumed that copies from London were circulated in Scotland before these dates. *Practice of Piety* encouraged, in a systematic way, the introspective process which often led to the internalization of the demonic. As Bayly wrote in his introduction, first man had to know God, and then to know his own "state of Corruption and Renovation": "And forasmuch as there can be no true piety without the knowledge of God; nor any good practice without the knowledge of a man's own self; we will therefore lay down the knowledge of God's majesty, and man's misery, as the first and chiefest grounds of the Practice of Piety."[31] Bayly went on to compare the glories of God's election with the terrible state of man who lived without redemption, whom he described as existing for eternity in a "bottomless lake of utter darkness" where the reprobate would "always weap for the paine of the fire, and yet gnash [their] teeth for the extremity of the cold."[32] Finally, he

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[28] William Perkins, *The Foundation of Christian Religion Gathered Into Six Principles* (London, 1641), 3, 16. As quoted in Oldridge, *Devil and Demonism*, 25.
[29] Lewis Bayly, *Practice of Piety, Directing the Christian how to walk that he may please God* (London, 1611).
[30] *Practice of Piety* was printed in Edinburgh at least six times, twice in 1630, 1636, 1642, 1649, and 1667.
[31] Bayly, *Practice of Piety*, 1.
[32] Ibid., 64-5.

provided a guidebook of prayers and meditations intended to lead the reader toward conversion and a godly lifestyle.

Preaching Sin and Self-Surveillance

These English devotional works accorded with the sermons of Scottish ministers, who encouraged this introspection through recurrent discussions of human wickedness and the attending necessity of self-surveillance.[33] As one mid-century minister bluntly put it, "our original and natural corruption, which sticks exceedingly close to us, being an universall disease and poyson runing throw, and infecting both the utter and iner man, defiling all the faculties of our souls, and members of our bodies, so if at this day there is not a free bitt in us, neither can we easily be rid of it, being up in the wilt and down in the Will…"[34] To combat this innate tendency towards evil, "Christians should be full of eyes within to examine themselves and to see their own corruptions. There are many who have eyes without to take notice of other peoples carriage, but they have no eyes to look within to themselves."[35] The sermonic focus on internal weakness championed among parishioners an introspective turn that ministers hoped would result in a more pious, self-aware population. Even James VI and I took heed. In his advice to his son, the future king Charles I, he included this telling (and, in hindsight, ironic) verse: "Looke to your selves, what Conscience you have; For Conscience shall damne, and Conscience shall save."[36]

[33] For a more thorough discussion of Scottish sermons, see Chapter Two, above.
[34] MS 5769, 133.
[35] Andrew Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669).
[36] James I and VI, *The fathers blessing: or, counsaile to his sonne* (London, 1624).

Like their Scottish counterparts, Puritan preachers in England and New England also sought to convince their parishioners of their "wretched state by nature" and the attending need for introspection.[37] In an evocative treatise on Revelation, John Cotton cautioned his fellow believers against spiritual confidence or complacency against Satan:

> the Devil, you say you defie him, and did renounce him in Baptisme…But if there were not a strong power of Satan in us, how comes it that the blood of Christ must be shed, to destroy him that had the power of death…And therefore consider of it, so strongly did the curse of the Law threaten us, such power hath sin over the best nature, that were it not for the blood of the Sonne of God, is were not possible we should be redeemed from them. Therefore if thou hast a good opinion of thy selfe, that the world hath no hold of thee, nor thy passions and lusts, and the Devill least of all, whatever the Law of God saith: know that there was nothing could redeem us from this, but the blood of the Sonne of God…[38]

From a pastoral standpoint, emphasizing the innate depravity of humankind could also serve to unify individuals in both their frailty and dependence on God to overcome demonic assaults.

Perhaps the most interesting element of Reformed sermons on human corruption was that they often described Satan as actually *within* men and women. From the pulpit, Scottish preachers frequently used the language of the devil being inside individual hearts and minds of men and women, a presence against which they must constantly battle. In a 1589 sermon, Robert the Bruce told his audience that they must be vigilant, "for we have to do with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness, which are above us and within us also. For he is not that has corruption within him, but Sathan is in him; So we cannot be half walkrife [wakeful], ever studying to cast out the devill, to renounce our

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[37] Common phrase in English sermons, as quoted by Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenot, 1600-85* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 213.
[38] John Cotton, *An exposition upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation* (London, 1656). Delivered around 1639.

selfs, and to submit to the obedience of Christ."[39] Alexander Hume echoed these words in a late sixteenth century treatise on the human conscience, in which he wrote that "the devil was never lother [willing] to come out of the person whom he possesseth, nor naturall vices will be to come out of mans hart, where they have once taken deepe root."[40] Samuel Rutherford couched this internal presence of the devil in horticultural terms, stating that "Satan findeth his own Seed in us by Nature."[41] In these examples, ministers explicitely conflated human corruption with the internal presence of the devil.

This presence of the devil within man rendered the battle against evil both an internal as well as external one. John Welch explained to his congregation that "the godly, because God and the devil, light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, a Jacob and an Efau are within them, therefore they cannot be without warfare."[42] Andrew Gray echoed this duality when he told listeners that "a man that hath two hearts, a part of his heart goeth to God, and a part of his heart goeth to the devil."[43] In England, Thomas Goodwin wrote that "a man's heart is like those two-faced pictures, if you looke

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[39] Robert Bruce, *Sermons* ed. by William Cunninghan (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 23-4. For another example of the language of "casting" out Satan in Scottish sermons, see James Durham's wonderfully titled *The great corruption of subtile self, discovered, and driven from it's lurking-places and starting-holes* (Edinburgh, 1686), which was probably delivered mid-century in Glasgow, where Durham was minister.

[40] Alexander Hume, *Ane treatise of conscience Quhairin divers secreits concerning that subiect, are discovered, as may appeare, in the table following* (Edinburgh, 1594), 57.

[41] Samuel Rutherford, "Sermon V," *The Trial and Triumph of Faith* (Edinburgh, 1645), 43.

[42] John Welch, "Sermon X," *Forty-Eight Select Sermons* (Glasgow, 1771), 144.

[43] Gray, *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence* (Edinburgh, 1669).

one way, you shall see nothing but some horrid shapre of a devil, or the like; but go to the otherside…and you shall see the picture of an Angell."[44]

Did these Reformed preachers actually mean that Satan was within the hearts of postlapsarian men and women, or were they using the devil to connote evil and corruptions more generally? According to Reformed theology, the devil and human corruption both existed and operated in tandem. As such, it is probable that these men would have indeed averred that the actual presence of Satan could be found in the hearts and minds of the elect and reprobate alike. This was not, of course, the type of physical, total possession that overtook a small number of demoniacs in Scotland during the turn of the seventeenth century.[45] Yet due to their innate sinfulness, demonic possession was, in a spiritually inherent sense, a constant component of the lives of all men and women. The human heart was clearly a battleground where demonic forces resided in an ongoing attempt to remove any drops of goodness from postlapsarian man.[46] This message of demonic involvement in the human heart, as we shall see, did not fall on deaf ears in the English-speaking Reformed Protestant world.

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[44] Thomas Goodwin, *Childe of Light Walking in Darknes: Or a Treatise Shewing the Causes, by which the Cases, wherein the Ends, for which God Leaves his Children to Distresse of Conscience* (London, 1636), 193.

[45] See Chapter Six, above.

[46] This discussion of the heart as a battle ground was not unique to the Reformed Protestant tradition. Ishay Rosen-Zvi has recently explored the Jewish concept of *yetzer hara*, or evil inclination, which battled in the human heart against the good but weaker *yetzer tov*. Scholars have often related the *yetzer hara* to destructive bodily desires. Using biblical and rabbinic scholarship, Rosen-Zvi argues that the *yetzer hara* was part of late antique demonology and the theological search for the origins of evil and human sin. She contends that the importance of the *yetzer* for late antique theology was the consideration of evil *yetzer* as "forces that lead humans astray only in the form of an internalized battle inside the heart, leaving no place for external cosmic foes." See Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*: "*Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 8.

Internalizing the Demonic

Part of understanding one's innately sinful state was to recognize why and how demonic temptation provided such a common pitfall for man. Self-examination, as championed from the pulpit and in devotional works from the sixteenth century onward, quickly became a trademark of personal piety among Anglosphere Reformed Protestants. There was a dark and even dangerous side to this introspective turn. After months, years, and even decades of hearing about human depravity from the pulpit, many Scots became acutely aware and sometimes obsessed with their own sinfulness. Satan, and his ability to impede any spiritual progress or peace, served as a trenchant reminder of personal frailty and failings. In compulsively examining and criticizing themselves, many godly men and women began to fear that they were, due to their "evil hearts," in league with the devil and beyond the pale of salvation. Some even began to feel that Satan was within them, an unintended consequence of the sermonic rhetoric discussed above. The spiritual diaries of early modern Scots, as well as those of Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic, illustrate this process of internalizing the demonic and its profound effects on how many early modern men and women understood themselves and their place in the cosmos.

The recollection of past sins, at the instigation of Satan, often precipitated intense fear and self-loathing that eventually led to the internalization of the demonic. The memoirs of James Fraser of Brea provide a particularly evocative example of this process. According to Fraser, when he was playing cards as a youth, he "broke out at last

in the dreadful sin of blasphemy, which I uttered with my tongue."[47] Over a year after speaking these blasphemous words, which are unspecified in his memoirs, he was overcome with "thoughts of that grievous sin…I essayed to pray, but could not get my mouth opened; there did a number of blasphemies and cursings run in my mind with great horror and against my will, which I thought was the devil in me."[48]At the time, the Lord pitied him and eased his "confused soul," but this was not the end of Fraser's troubles. A year later, he heard a sermon that led him to recall his sin of blasphemy, "upon which, for the space of some hours, a more violent storm did break out than any I had ever felt." Wracked with fear, Fraser

> saw in God's countenance terror, wrath, hatred, and vengeance; and some of my natural enmity against the Lord did break out likewise; so that I struggled, murmured, and fretted against God, like the damned in hell, for suffering me to sin unpardonably. Despair and want of hope is terrible; I was as if in hell…I was in an hourly expectation when Satan should come and take me away; and it was beaten upon me with a mighty impression that I was delivered to the devil…. hopelessness was the sting of all my evils.[49]

The language of believing that he had the "devil in him" and that he was "delivered to the devil" were common sentiments in spiritual diaries in Scotland, reflecting an intense concern over salvation and the self-identification as depraved, evil, and even demonic.

Another example of the relationship between Satan and intense introspection comes from the dying words of John Stevenson, a farmer in Carrick in the early eighteenth century. In a letter to his family, he detailed his sinful nature and the erroneous

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[47]James Fraser of Brea, "Memoirs of James Fraser of Brea" in *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841), ii. 97-106.
[48] Ibid., 103.
[49] Ibid., 106.

thoughts that troubled him as a youth. He wrote that throughout his life, while in the process of self-examination, the devil

> violently suggested to my soul that some time or other, God would suddenly destroy me as with a thunder clap. Which so filled my soul with fear and pain, that every now and then I looked about me to receive the divine blow, still expecting it was a coming; yea, many nights I durst not sleep, lest I had awakened in everlasting flames…[50]

Sleepless nights, expectations of divine retribution, hopelessness, and self-hatred were all components of this internalization of the demonic, which resulted from a combination of demonic belief and pastorally-encouraged introspection.

The dangers of such introspection did not go unnoticed by the ministry in Scotland and elsewhere, and here again the devil figured prominently. In 1688, the Scottish Presbyterian Robert Rule delivered a revealing sermon that detailed how the devil manipulated man's natural proclivity to fear and doubt. "Of all the creatures in the work," he began, "man is apt to torment and afflict himself with fears."[51] External threats were not "so dangerous as the fears that arises from within a mans self," for the devil used these internal tendencies to cast men and women "into despondency, and unbelief and distrust of [God's] promises."[52] With these words Rule laid the blame for these fears at the feet of man (in conjunction with the devil), rather than recognizing this tendency was inherent in Reformed theology itself.

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[50] John Stevenson, "A Rare Soul-Strengthening and Comforting Cordial for Old and Young Christians: Being the last advice of John Stevenson, in the shire of Ayr, to his children and grandchildren." in *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1841), ii. 427.
[51] MS 5770, f. 3.
[52] Ibid.

As in Scotland, the internalization of the demonic is also evident in the spiritual diaries of Puritan England and New England. This process usually began in youth but continued well-into adulthood, as the remembrance of past evils never escaped the minds of the godly. In *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), John Bunyan recounted his past wickedness and detailed the turmoil that wracked his heart as he wrestled with Satan and himself. Because his demonic experiences recall that of James Fraser of Brea, James Nimmo, and other godly Scots, Bunyan's narrative is worth quoting at length. Moreover, *Grace Abounding* was published in Scotland in 1697 and many times throughout the eighteenth century, displaying its influential and persistent reception in Scotland.[53] Bunyan wrote that as a boy

> often, after I have spent this and the other day in sin, I have in my bed been greatly afflicted, while asleep, with the apprehensions of devils and wicked spirits…Also I should, at these years, be greatly afflicted and troubled with the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell-fire; still fearing, that it would be my lot to be found at last among those devils and hellish fiends, who are there bound down with the chains and bonds of darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.[54]

Demonic temptations paired with convictions about his own depravity drove Bunyan to have desperate episodes of psychological struggle against Satan:

> One morning as I did lie in my bed, I was, as at other times, most fiercely assaulted with this temptation, *To sell and part with Christ*; the wicked suggestion still running in my mind, *Sell Him, sell Him, sell Him, sell Him, sell Him,* as fast as a man could speak: against which also, in my mind, as at other times, I answered, *No, no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands*, at least twenty times together: but at last, after much striving, even until I was almost out of breath…Oh! the diligence of Satan! Oh! the desperateness of man's heart![55]

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[53]John Bunyan, *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners: or, A brief and faithful relation of the exceeding mercy of God in Christ* (London, 1666). Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* was published in Scotland no less than eight times in the eighteenth century, primarily in Glasgow.

[54] Bunyan, *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners.*

[55] Ibid. Italics are Bunyan's.

Later in life, before his conversion, Bunyan also became convinced he had sinned beyond redemption. Upon having this thought, he "found it hard work now to pray to God, because despair was swallowing me up; I thought I was, as with a tempest, driven away from God." Soon he was "struck into a very great trembling, insomuch that at sometimes I could, for whole days together, feel my very body, as well as my mind, to shake and totter under the sense of the dreadful judgment of God, that should fall on those that have sinned that most fearful and unpardonable sin." [56] In English spiritual diaries, disturbing thoughts of atheism often appeared in the minds of the godly—including the unpardonable sin, as in the case of Bunyan above — making them doubt god himself and obsess about their own salvation.[57] Though the origin of such thoughts came from Satan, this in no way spared the godly of guilt for their blasphemous thoughts.

Between 1639 and 1640, Richard Norwood, an English mathematician and surveyor, composed a journal detailing the spiritual journey that he had undergone in his younger years.[58] Never intended for publication, Norwood's journal provides an unfiltered glimpse into another Englishman's internalization of the demonic. After his conversion experience at the age of 26, Satan became and remained a constant antagonist. In considering the sins of his past, Norwood entered into a panic over his possible reprobation. His desperate state was exacerbated by the sense of Satan overcoming him

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[56] Ibid.

[57] The "unpardonable sin" or "sin against the holy ghost", which rendered salvation impossible, was a common and intense fear of early modern Reformed Protestants who obsessively searched their consciousness for any such sign of absolute damnation. See Chapter Four, note 6, above.

[58] Richard Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood Surveyor of Bermuda*, eds. W.F. Craven and W.B. Hayward (New York: Pub. for the Bermuda historical monuments trust by Scholars' facsimiles & reprints, 1945).

physically as well as spiritually: "It is hard to express the manner of it, but sometimes he [the devil] seemed to lean on my back or arms or shoulder, sometimes hanging on my cloak or gown."[59]At one point, he questioned if he himself was a devil.[60] Norwood's experiences with Satan made him worry that "the Lord had or should utterly cast me off," exemplifying the extreme despair and estrangement from God that characterized the internalization of the demonic.[61]

Though surprisingly few diaries actually survive from seventeenth-century New England, the ones that do are illustrative of the now-familiar concern with the devil and his unwanted but inevitable interventions in human life.[62] As in Scotland, the relationship between Satan and the evil nature of man was pervasive. A passage from the first-generation New Englander and famed minister Thomas Shepard is exemplary: struck by the fear that he had committed "hellish blasphemy" and "the unpardonable sin" upon reading certain scriptures, Shepard "had some strong temptations to run my head agaynst walls & braine & kill myself." At the height of his despair, God bestowed the following meditation upon him: "Be not discouraged because thou art so vile, but make this double use of it; 1. loathe thyself the more; 2. feele a greater need & put a greater price upon Jesus." Shepard found this advice particularly useful in his struggles with the devil, whom he beat "as it were with his own weapons." God, he said, had helped him to "loathe myself in some great measure," realizing that his inner nature was "the greatest

[59] Norwood, *Journal*, 93.
[60] Ibid., 95.
[61] Ibid., 101.
[62] Baird Tipson, "The Routinized Piety of Thomas Shepard's Diary," *Early American Literature* 13 (1978), 65.

enemy, worse than the devil can be agaynst myself…"[63] This passage illustrates the obsession with the sinfulness of oneself in conjunction with demonic activity clearly pervaded the godly writings on both sides of the pond.

As historians have long acknowledged, Reformed Protestantism set the bar for living very high. The challenge lay in not only controlling ones actions and words, but also one's thoughts. Even if Satan was identified as the source of atheistic thoughts and the like, men and women in their infinite weakness were still to blame for allowing demonically-induced notions into their minds.[64] As Johnstone contends, "diabolic intrusion did not separate subversive thoughts from the conscience…Protestant writers never intended that it should, but rather that is should do the reverse, forcing a self-conscious and often sustained engagement with the experience of sin, guilt and the demonic."[65] This is precisely what happened in the minds of the Scottish and English godly, many of whom entered into intense periods of despair after becoming convinced they had committed the "unpardonable sin." In the midst of demonic assaults and the recognition of their own innate depravity, many men and women began to worry that the

[63] Thomas Shepard, *The Autobiography of Thomas Shepard* (Pierce and Parker, 1832) 26.

[64] For an extended discussion of the ability of Satan to plant blasphemous thoughts in the human mind, see Wod. Qu. XXVIII. "An account of the exercise of a Christian", 1698. A letter explaining how to deal with obsessive blasphemous thoughts. 94r-97v. The anonymous author of the letter contends that while the devil produced the blasphemous thoughts, his friend's heart also was to blame, for the "heart yields many times to such suggestions." He advised his friend, when facing such unchristian thoughts at the instigation of Satan, to "flee in unto god threw Christ Jesus for pardon."

[65] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*,129.

devil was actually within them. During this internalization of the demonic, some even considered suicide, believing themselves irrevocably damned. [66]

Belief in the devil and his ability to lead the godly into downward spirals of anxiety and fear, predicated on all humanity's innate sinfulness, profoundly affected how the godly in Scotland and on both sides of the Atlantic conceptualized themselves and their relationship to God. This was not a consistent, homogeneous process. Not every godly man and woman underwent this process of internalizing the demonic, and when they did, this was only one aspect of how the devil influenced lived experience. Reformed theology in practice was not strictly a despairing or hopeless doctrine, and some historians have emphasized the comforting aspects of basking in God's loving grace.[67] As discussed in previous chapters, struggles against Satan and personal sin reaffirmed the generosity of God and could serve as a metric for godliness.

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[66] The most evocative example of this consideration of suicide comes from the "Conversion Narrative of Mistress Rutherford", discussed at length in Chapter Four, above. According to the account, during her teenage years, Rutherford fell ill and was plagued by "a continouall fear of the Devill coming and taking me away." So intense was this demonic apprehension, that she suffered insomnia and even suicidal thoughts: "I could not sleep for fear of him, and in my sleep I was molested with dreams, so that my life became wearisom to me…Many a time wished I for wars to come into the kingdom, that I might have been slain so being that I had been guilt of doing it myself." Later in life, Satan convinced Rutherford that she had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost- an unforgivable, eternal sin by which salvation becomes impossible. Tormented by guilt and fear at this thought, she considered suicide: "Satan tempted me to put violence hands in my self, making me think it so far from sin, that it would be looked be good service to God to execut his justice on such a traitor that looked so well favoured." See David G. Mullan, ed, "Mistress Rutherford's Conversion Narrative." *Scottish History Society, Miscellany xiii* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2004):146-88.

[67] See, for example, Charles L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford University Press, 1986).

As this dissertation has argued, ideas about Satan were formative in how Scots conceived of themselves and the world around them. [68] Ideas about Satan melded with the exceptionalism imbedded in Reformed theology to provide the godly with a sense of being part of something larger, a unified front in the face of demonic onslaughts.[69] Many found solace in the unity of their struggles and possibly even in the shared process of the internalization of the demonic, popularized in printed spiritual diaries. As Nehemiah Wallington reassured himself when facing the devil's assaults, "this is the condition of all people of God…partly through Satan's temptations, and partly from original sin still remaining in the best, like a hereditary disease not totally cured till death."[70] The covenanting minister John Welwood echoed this sentiment in a 1676 letter in which he biblically and historically rationalized the struggles of God's chosen people:

> O but a Christian hath much worke while he is hereaway. He hath sin, Satan, dissertion, afflictions, and plagues to debate withal. The Lord hath made the way for the most part rough to humble us, and to keep us in dependence upon him …we have need of trials and afflictions to purge out our corruptions, and this hath been the lot of all his people in all ages.[71]

Whether they labeled themselves godly, Puritan, Calvinist, or Covenanter, many Reformed Protestants throughout the British world found comfort in a shared identity and a united front of individuals and experience against Satan.

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[68] Though he does not go so far as to suggest that belief in the devil helped early modern men and women to construct personal identity, Nathan Johnstone has argued that demonic belief allowed early modern men and women to understand both external reality and their own internal temptations and fears. Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 107-141.

[69] By "exceptionalism embedded in Reformed theology", I mean the idenitification as the elect, the chosen few, which Scottish divines articulated through the language of the "new Israel." See Michael Lynch, "Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638," *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, ed. Menna Preswich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 225-256.

[70] Seaver, *Wallington's World,* 20.

[71] John Welwood, "Letters, 1675-77," in *Protestant Piety in Early Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712,* ed. David Mullan (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2008), 85.

We cannot, however, assume that ordinary parishioners would have found the same solace in the doctrine of election. Moreover, messages of grace themselves were imbedded with uncertainty. Conversion experiences, demonic assaults, and the innate desire to live a godly life were noteworthy signposts of election, but even with these assurances, grace was not a guarantee. Ultimately, only God knew who was saved. This idea clearly bred insecurity in those who took the time to interrogate and record the sins and doubts of their souls.

A Hotter Sort of Reformed Protestantism?

Reformed Protestantism indelibly left its mark on demonic belief in communities outside the Anglophone world. As such, it is necessary to examine if the internalization of the demonic occurred elsewhere in Europe. The French Protestant experience provides an optimal point of comparison. As a country with close cultural ties to Scotland, one would imagine much commonality in the demonic beliefs of Huguenots in France and the godly in Scotland. The French and the Scots had long been engaged in an "auld alliance," dating back, according to Archbishop John Spottiswoode, to Charlemagne's rule and culminating in 1295 with the signing of a Franco-Scottish treaty.[72] Centuries later, French and Scottish Calvinists shared educational institutions and theological ideas during their respective Reformations.[73]

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[72] On the Franco-Scottish connection in the high and late middle ages, see Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295-1560* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001).

[73] For more on the relationship between Scottish and French Reformers, see W. Stanford Reid, "Reformation in France and Scotland: A Case Study in Sixteenth Century Communication," in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994).

Yet despite this long cultural, political, and religious relationship, Reformed Protestantism took root differently in the two countries. Beyond totally distinct political situations, French Huguenots seemed to have lacked the introspective, personal piety epitomized by the writings of William Perkins in England and Robert Bruce or Mistress Rutherford in Scotland. As Philip Benedict has pointed out, in contrast to British and North American Protestantism, "Huguenot ministers, under constant pressure to defend their flock against Catholic controversialists seeking converts, inclined toward a more intellectualist and less experiential understanding of the nature of saving faith."[74] Because external threats abounded, there was little time or impulse to turn inward.

In a recent article, David Mullan closely examines the differences between French and Scottish Calvinism in order to test whether or not the versions of Reformed piety present in the British world "might have encouraged a 'hotter' type of Protestant—perhaps more energetic in the performance of personal duties, including an Augustinian, introspective self-analysis."[75] While rejecting any clear-cut delineation of "hot" versus "lukewarm" Protestantism, Mullan points out that French diaries and memoirs, even those produced during the Wars of Religion, reflected religious commitment but were "not designed as self-examination nor as a means of revealing the inner person with all of its attendant conflicts."[76] He goes on to discuss how unlike their Scottish counterparts, Huguenot ministers do not appear to have "exploited" this focus on introspection and the

[74] Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 524.
[75] David George Mullan, "A Hotter Sort of Protestantism? Comparisons between French and Scottish Calvinisms," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39 (2008): 45-69.
[76] Mullan, "Hotter Sort," 51.

ensuing melancholy.[77] Moreover, as Benedict has pointed out, French Protestants lived in a "well-structured minority community whose devotional culture…made less insistent demands on its members."[78]

The absence of the internal, melancholic turn in French Huguenot piety can at least be partly attributed to the books that educated Huguenots owned, read, and discussed. Beyond the Bible, Calvin's writings and works on religious controversy by French theologians most often filled the shelves of private libraries. Comparatively absent were the guidebooks on how to live a godly life that pervaded the English (and much smaller) Scottish literary markets during the seventeenth century.[79] This was not an issue of literacy, as one might assume. Members of the French Huguenot community were as likely, if not more, to be able to read printed works like devotional guides. Literacy rates were high amount the minority French Protestant community, partly because of the Reformed emphasis on literacy but also due to the community's social makeup, largely drawn from the middling ranks of society.[80]

While Scotland has long been touted as a bastion of literacy due to the Calvinist emphasis on sola scriptura, this idea has been largely dispelled by the work of Rab Houston, who contends that Scottish and English literacy rates remained comparable

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[77] Mullan contends that ministers in England and Scotland capitalized upon religious melancholy, presumably in order to reaffirm their flocks' dependence on both God and the church. While melancholy was not absent from the Huguenot community, it was not a focus of its pastoral practice and was accordingly less of a presence in Huguenot narratives. See Mullan, "Hotter Sort," 65-66.
[78] Ibid.. 210.
[79] Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes*, 220. To identify the comparative dearth of literature on practical divinity in Huguenot France, Benedict used Louis Desgraves, *Repertoire bibliographique des livres imprimes en France au XVIIe siècle* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1978).
[80] R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800* (New York: Longman, 1988), 149.

throughout most of the early modern period.[81] In Scotland, urban literacy, judged by the ability to sign one's name, hovered around 50 percent in the 1630s for men. The rates were around 10-20 percent for rural areas, and much lower for women overall. These are not particularly impressive figures. Literacy rates were on the rise in seventeenth-century Scotland, but many remained unable to actually read complex texts such as devotional guides and printed sermons. In most areas of Scotland literacy rates remained well-below fifty percent until the eighteenth century.[82] In light of these facts, the pulpit became an even more crucial tool for the dissemination of prescriptive piety. Thus the greater focus on and proliferation of devotional works in England and Scotland cannot be attributed to greater literacy rates than in Huguenot France.

The explanation for the absence of the introspective turn and ensuing internalization of the demonic in Huguenot France, therefore, seems to have been primarily ideological and political. In his extensive studies of Huguenots, Benedict notes that he has "found no traces of Huguenot preachers first trying to convince the members of their audience of the extent of their sinfulness under the Law….The division of the world into the reprobate and the elect is not broadcast as openly and as insistently by Huguenot writers as it is by the English; nor is there the same emphasis that each individual must make his or her own election sure."[83] Interestingly, though Lewis

[81]R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Literacy and Society in Scotland and England, 1660-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[82] See Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland, 1630- 1760", *Past and Present* 96 (1982): 89-91; John Bannerman, "Literacy in the Highlands," *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson,* eds Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 214-235.
[83] Ibid., 220-1.

Bayly's *Practice of Piety* underwent multiple editions in France, it was poorly received by Huguenot divines. Moses Amyraut, a prominent French Protestant theologian and author, wrote that "piety should be supremely voluntary and practised with full alacrity of courage and even gaity." Accordingly, it was "an enemy of that peace and joy…to feel scruples and remorse that importune one's conscience."[84] This attitude, though it does not speak for the French Protestant community as a whole, could not have been more different than the mentality one finds in the Reformed Anglophone world, where intense soul-searching and surveillance was pastorally encouraged and personally cultivated by Scots of all sorts.

Neither Benedict nor Mullan addresses the issue of demonic belief in their studies of these personal writings. Yet the emphasis on melancholic introspection, wedded to struggles against Satan and the cause of the demonization of the self, was clearly an element lacking in French works. There has been one sustained study of French demonology, Jonathan Pearl's *The Crime of Crimes: Demonology and Politics in France, 1560-1620*, but it provides very little discussion of French Protestant demonic belief or theology more generally. Pearl focuses on the political inspiration for French ideas about Satan and contends that the most extreme French demonology came from Catholics who accused the Huguenots of being in league with Satan. His contends that "pure demonology"—strictly theological works on the devil and witches, unencumbered by political agendas and propagandistic purposes— "hardly existed in France."[85] This

[84] As quoted in Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 221.
[85] Jonathan L. Pearl, *The Crime of Crimes: Politics and Demonology in France, 1560-1620* (Ontario, CA: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1999), 6.

assertion, which should not be accepted without qualifications, does accord with the larger hypothesis that the French were less obsessed with Satan except as a means to demonize their opponents.[86] This lack of "pure" French demonology, especially among its Protestant community, may be reflected by the absence of experiences with Satan in the spiritual diaries of the time.

My intention here has been to demonstrate that the effects of Reformed theology on demonology were far from uniform. Reformed Protestantism alone does not account for the nature of demonic belief in Scotland or elsewhere. Rather, Reformed theological ideas acted in conjunction with a complex set of socio-political factors to produce demonic belief tailored to the cultures of different regions. English Puritans and Scottish Covenanters faced their fair share of persecution, but this did not result in the great bloodshed found in places where society was starkly divided between large groups of Protestants and Catholics. That France was a confessional battleground undoubtedly shaped Huguenot belief in Satan and the location of blame for individual and communal struggles. The search for the enemy within took a necessary backseat to warring against enemies without.

Conclusion

The Reformed faith, in both theory and lived experience, entailed a complex and often anxious process of questioning the self that was championed in print and from the pulpit. This questioning was informed by knowledge of the close relationship between Satan and human nature. Combined with the doctrine of predestination, this relationship

[86] Interestingly, Pearl barely acknowledges the writings of Lambert Daneau, the father of French demonology, who he terms "France's one Protestant demonologist." Pearl, *Crime of Crimes*, 6.

undergirded Reformed demonic belief in Scotland. The contemplation of these ideas about the devil, human depravity, and salvation resulted in powerful internal struggles and self-loathing, culminating in some individuals with the internalization of the demonic.

Of course, not every Protestant Scot underwent this process to the same degree, or at all. Some simply recognized the presence of demonically induced doubts, while others became suicidal at the thought of their own reprobation. For those men and women unable to record their own experiences, it is difficult to assess to what extent ideas about sin and Satan influenced their conceptions of self. It seems unlikely, however, that the frequent sermonic discussions of human depravity would have completely escaped the attention of ordinary Scots. Moreover, for a significant number of individuals, issues of personal identity and introspective anxieties about sin and salvation collided, often dramatically, in the process of internalizing the demonic. This process seems to have been unique, at least in its incidence, to Reformed Protestant communities in Scotland and in the British world more broadly, where Satan had become an integral component of lived experience and personal identity.

Conclusion

From the Reformation through the seventeenth century, beliefs about Satan shaped Scottish culture and identity in numerous ways. Scots invoked his name from the pulpit, in print, on the street, in the courtroom, and in their personal writings. Sermonic discussions of Satan conveyed the complex nuances of Reformed Protestant theology, such as divine sovereignty, double predestination, and innate depravity, to audiences of ordinary Scottish men and women. The devil was a potent experiential force for Scots who sought to understand themselves and their fates through demonic engagement, sometimes with dangerous consequences. The demonic components of witchcraft rendered the devil a potent and tangible concern for all sorts of Scots involved in the communal project of witch-hunting. The ubiquity of Satan, espoused from the pulpit and demonstrated by his role in the witchcraft trials, self-writings, crime literature, and cases of interpersonal violence, rendered the devil at once frightening and quotidian. Well into the eighteenth century, sermons and popular broadsides depicted to an interested public a devil ever-active in his quest to tempt the godly and the unregenerate alike into sin.

Four main factors determined the nature of this pervasive Scottish demonic belief: the introduction, adoption, and promotion of Reformed Protestantism during and long after the Scottish Reformation; a unique blend of theological continuity with political turmoil; the primacy of place given to Satan in Scottish sermons; and the influence of an introspective and anxiety-ridden process that I term the "internalization of the demonic." This process—both a cause and a product of demonic belief not only in Scotland but in Puritan England and New England—paired with Scotland's specific religious and

political situation to render the devil a formative component of Scottish culture and society. The internalization of the demonic in the early modern British world demonstrates the power of religious belief, and specifically the belief in evil, to profoundly influence the ways in which people conceptualize themselves and the world around them.

What does this role of Satan in post-Reformation Scotland tell us about the larger place of the devil in early modern society? In a study of Protestantism, one must inevitably include a discussion of Max Weber's famous argument that the Protestant Reformation— particularly in its Calvinist guise—occasioned a "disenchantment of the world" as science and modernity usurped supernatural beliefs of their authority.[1] The Weberian thesis has been adopted by a number of historians, most importantly Keith Thomas, who have emphasized the "essential unity" of the Reformation and the Enlightenment and implied that Protestantism paved the way for a more modern society.[2]

In recent decades, this aspect of the Weber/Thomas thesis has been challenged and overturned, most convincingly by historians following in the footsteps of Robert Scribner who have discredited Protestantism of any sort of "modernizing" or desacralizing influence.[3] Even historians who ascribe to a relatively teleological view of

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[1] In Weber's *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, first published in 1904–5, he argued that the Reformation was part of a 'great historic process' which he later called 'the disenchantment of the world'. This argument has long been the subject of historical debates, which have been recently summarized in Alexandra Walsham's wonderful historiographical essay "The Reformation and 'The Disenchantment of the World' Reassessed," *Historical Journal*, 51 (2)(2008): 497-528.

[2] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

[3] See Robert Scribner, "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World'," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23 (1993): 475-94. In this article, Scribner points out parallels to the supernaturalism of Catholicism found in Protestant culture and faith.

the Reformation acknowledge that the "evidence of continuing Protestant belief in a meaningful cosmos is copious and indisputable."[4] Scholars of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have also demonstrated in recent years the powerful persistence of beliefs in ghosts, angels, demons and the like in both Protestant and Catholic Europe.[5] Thanks to this elucidating scholarship, we can now safely argue that Protestantism did not diminish the importance of the supernatural in the lives of both elite and ordinary early modern men and women.

So how, then, theologically and in practice, did Protestantism influence the concept of Satan? Some historians have suggested that due to the Protestant obsession with the sovereignty and immutability of God, the Reformation usurped the devil of independent agency. Satan, while retaining his innately evil nature, was downgraded to "a helpless tool in the hands of the Almighty."[6] Jeffery Burton Russell has accordingly seen the early modern period as the devil's last stand, the final era when Satan dominated Christian theodicy.[7] Certainly Protestantism was the project of consolidating mystical, supernatural power into the Godhead alone. The emphasis on divine providence, while not an attempt to remove mysticism from the Christian world, made God became the sole

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[4] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11.

[5] See, for example, Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, magic and culture, 1736–1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Sasha Handley, *Visions of an unseen world: ghost beliefs and ghost stories in eighteenth-century England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007); Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt, eds., *Beyond the witch trials: witchcraft and magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[6] Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 16.

[7] Jeffery Burton Russell, *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World (*Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 36.

owner and dictator of all things mystical and enchanting. A dog on a divinely grasped leash, Satan lacked any agency or will of his own.

In many respects, Reformed Protestantism, with its emphasis on a remote, immutable God and the removal of intermediaries between humans and the deity, widened the gulf between the supernatural and natural realms. At the same time, however, innate human depravity brought post-lapsarian individuals closer to Satan. In turn, God's total control of Satan pushed him toward man, as the devil increasingly operated as an earthly instrument of wrath and internal temptation. Ordinary Scots consistently invoked the devil during interpersonal conflicts; Satan appeared in quotidian, often human fashion in cases of witchcraft; the internalization of the demonic, in part, rendered actual demonic possession obsolete in Scotland through most of the early modern period. Though he retained his supernatural status, Satan increasingly occupied the void between the human world and the supernatural.

Though stripped of his previous ability to hinder salvation, Satan's constant presence in the human realm as an instrument of God made him an all the more evident and frightening force. The relegation of the devil to the hands of the almighty meant that his sole function was as "God's hangman," a vehicle for divine wrath. In this way, Satan came to represent something more terrible than pure, independent evil. Evidence of demonic activities in the world meant that a wrathful, all-powerful God was enacting his just anger on a deserving world. In an era of apocalyptic fervor, augmented by the Reformation in both Catholic and Protestant Europe, this meant that the Day of Judgment

was nigh. The need to purify the world, overcome Satan, and avoid the apocalyptic rage of God was more urgent than ever before.

Returning to the notion of Protestantism as a desacralizing force, Russell has also argued that early modern Europe witnessed "a profound shift in the center of gravity of perceptions of evil, from the world of spirits to the world of man."[8] While his interpretation is marred by a linear teleology and lack of contextualization, he may have inadvertently put his finger on one of the effects of Reformed theology. The doctrine of double predestination effectively wrested from Satan the ability to hinder man's salvation. Struggles against the devil no longer affected the final fate of individuals. While the godly should find comfort in the promise of eventual victory, they, like the devil, could do nothing to guarantee salvation. Their energies, therefore, ought to be applied exclusively to challenges of their present lives. The once cosmic battle between Good and Evil was thus relocated to the human realm, as warring with Satan became inherent in godly life while on earth.

Dying rituals provide perhaps the most evident manifestation of this Reformed Protestant emphasis on the here and now. Reformed worship removed the graveside rituals, songs, and prayers that characterized Catholic deaths and burials. The focus became the preparation for the despair and demonic assaults that inevitably followed the

[8] Russell, *Mephistopheles*, 25.

godly through their lives and onto their deathbeds.[9] As Philip Benedict has noted, these changes to graveside ceremony were "among the most radical of all breaks with pre-Reformation religious practice, for it meant an end to the economy of prayer for remembered relatives and spiritual kin and to the community between the living and the dead that were among the most prominent features of the late medieval spiritual landscape."[10] Under the doctrine of predestination, prayers for the already dead had little merit or utility. They might commemorate the deceased or comfort the living, but the souls of the dead went immediately to their preordained, eternal home. [11] Satan, however, remained an adversary until the very last breath. Combating demonically induced doubt and despair thus became the most important deathbed ritual.

This relocation of the demonic battleground to the terrestrial realm does not mean that the early modern period ought to be viewed as some sort of cosmic halfway house on the way to the Enlightenment and the disenchantment of the world. This teleological interpretation is misguided by hindsight and neglects the persistence of belief in the supernatural long after the climax of the Enlightenment came and went. Yet the contention that after the Reformation evil was increasingly attributed to man contains an important grain of truth. Certainly Satan retained his supernatural status, and early modern men and women continued to view him as a powerful non-human entity. It does

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[9] On death and dying in post-Reformation Europe, see Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Keith Luria, "Separated by Death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional Boundaries in Seventeenth Century France," *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001):185-222.

[10] Benedict, *Christ's Church*, 506.

[11] On this point, see Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, esp. 66-92.

seem, however, that Reformed Protestantism, in theology and in practice, eroded the once rigid divide between the supernatural evil of Satan and the natural evil of man. As evidenced by the internalization of the demonic, the two were wedded in Reformed theology and experience. Evil in the world did not shift seamlessly from the world of spirits to the world of man. Rather, Protestants increasingly attributed evil to the internal cooperation and coexistence of Satan and the sinful human heart.

For Reformed Protestant Scots, then, the battle against Satan was not taking place in the cosmos, with God and the devil vying for human souls. The war between the forces of Good and Evil, between God and Satan, raged on as it always had. But more than ever, this war was an earthly one, and the vulnerable human heart provided a fertile battleground. I would suggest that this rhetorical and experiential focus on the demonic struggle that occurred in the heart paved the way for the evangelical, emotional brand of Scottish piety that took root in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and greatly influenced American religious revivalism.[12] It may also be worth considering the extent to which the Scottish Enlightenment, with its vigorous attempt to understand human nature, was in part a reaction to the fact that Reformed Protestantism had thrust the spotlight onto the activities of Satan in the human heart. Whatever the aftereffects of this demonic belief may have been, the influence of Satan in early modern Scotland can hardly be overstated. The belief in a ubiquitous, earthly devil, one who infiltrated and even resided in the hearts of men and women, indelibly shaped how Scots of all sorts perceived their communities and themselves.

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[12] See Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communions and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

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